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SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS

GENERAL EDITOR : S. N. SEN

SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS

BEING SANSKRIT LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE ORIENTAL COLLECTION AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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PREFACE

THE records of the East India Company were naturally kept in English. The Indian princes, however, in the early days at least, preferred to use Persian, the French of the east, in their diplomatic correspondence. The great bulk of the official archives at New Delhi therefore consists of English records and the Persian Correspondence comes next both in volume and in importance. But there are records in other languages of the east, which though much less voluminous, do not lack either in historical interest or academic value. They have hitherto received but little notice and less attention. Forrestl imited his studies to English records only and his example was emulated by his successors, Hill and Wilson. Ross, well-versed in the lores of modern and medieval Iran, turned his attention to the huge mass of Persian Correspondence hitherto ignored by its legal custodians and arranged for the preparation of Calendars seven volumes of which have already seen light and two more are awaiting publication. Of records in other oriental or Indian tongues the public at large had hardly any knowledge. A preliminary scrutiny in 1939 left no doubt about their cultural value and the Government of India authorized their Keeper of Records (now Director of Archives) to get them published through private agencies. The learned institutions all over the country readily responded to his appeal and the first volume of the new series was published by the Calcutta University in 1942 under the honorary editorship of Government of India's Keeper of Records. The Universities of Allahabad, Annamalai and Delhi, the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona and the Government of Kotah came forward with proposals of editing and publishing at their own expenses volumes of Hindi, Tamil, Persian and Marathi news letters and official papers and the newly organised Ganganatha Jha Research Institute naturally interested itself in the publication of the Sanskrit papers. Some of these papers first appeared in the Institute's Journal and evoked no little interest among the orientalists in this country and abroad. It was decided that the main responsibility of preparing the text, the English translation, the English introduc-

tion and notes should rest with the Director of Archives whil Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra should add an introduc tion in Sanskrit. In spite of the best efforts of the editors th publication has been long held over due to circumstances ove which neither of them had any control. It is well known tha papers were not easy to get and printing presses had mor work than they could handle. But for the personal efforts o Mahamahopadhyaya Umesha Mishra the publication of thi small collection of Sanskrit letters and legal papers might hav been still further delayed.

The first editor should like to avail himself of this oppor tunity of recording his obligation to his colleague Mr. Sourindr Nath Roy, M.A. Mr. Roy has been responsible for transcribin the text, locating the documents, a task by no mean easy as they were often separated from the relevant paper collection of materials for notes and preparing the fir draft of the English rendering. His thanks are als due to Professor K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph. D. of the Patn College, Mr. S. C. Ghosal, B.A., B.Sc., LL.B., Director c Public Instruction, Alwar and Professor A. H. Nizami, M.A. c the Rewa College for information about villages near Gay Visvanath Dikshit and the village of Sihunda respectivel Pandit Krishna Dutt Bharadwaj, M.A., of Modern High Schoo New Delhi, very kindly revised the English translation an made some valuable suggestions. To Pandit Nilkantha Das an Professor G. S. Das of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, he indebted for information about the signatories to the Puri lett and the 36 departments into which the temple administratio was divided.

The munificence of His Highness the Maharaja of Tehr Garhwal has provided funds for the printing and publicatic of this volume. Sanskrit studies in India owe a great deal t her princes and His Highness has earned our deep gratituc by kindly extending his distinguished patronage to this humb work.

S. N. Sen.

आमुखम्

भारतीयराज्यशासनाधिकारे 'राष्ट्रीय-लेखरक्षागारे' सुरक्षितानां संस्कृतभाषया निबद्धानां विविधविषयसंवलितानां प्रत्नानां साधारणव्यावहारिकपत्राणां धर्म्मशास्त्रीयव्यवस्थापत्राणां च संग्रहः प्रथममेव प्रकाश्य विदुषां पुरतोऽद्य संस्थाप्यते। तत्तत्कालिकलेखनशैलीविषये विशेषपरिचयोऽस्माकं भवेदिति हेतोः प्राचीनलेखानामानुपूर्वीयप्रकाशने यत्नो विहितः। अतो लेखभाषादिभ्रमशोधने शिथिलप्रयत्ना वयम्। तथापि टिप्पणीषु क्वचित्पुनः संशोधनं सम्पादितम्।

संग्रहेऽस्मिन् पञ्चविंशतिसंख्यका विविधप्रकारका लेखाः सन्ति। तद्यथा—

(१) १७७८मिते खीस्ताब्दे दत्तकपुत्रस्वीकारमधिकृत्यैकत्रिंशत्संख्यकैः काशीस्थविद्वद्भिः प्रदत्त व्यवस्थापत्रम्।

(२) १७८८मिते खीस्ताब्दे भारतवर्षस्य राजप्रतिनिधिशासकं वारेन् हेस्टिंग्समहोदयं प्रति वाराणसीयपण्डितानां निवेदनपत्रम्।

(३) १७८८मिते खीस्ताब्दे वारेन् हेस्टिंग्समहोदयं प्रति काशीस्थवंगदेशीयपण्डितानां निवेदनपत्रम्।

द्वितीयतृतीयपत्रयोर्विदुषां नामानि 'उर्दू'अक्षरैर्लिखितानि सन्ति।

(४) १७९१मिते खीस्ताब्दे लार्ड कार्नवालिसं प्रति सूरतनगरवासिन्या गोस्वामिवंशोत्पन्नया बहूजीमहाराज्ञ्या प्रेषितं पत्रम्।

(५) १७९६मिते खीस्ताब्दे सर जौन शोरं प्रति ग्वालियरनिवासिना केनचित् कंह्वरदासनामधेयेन विदुषा प्रेषिता 'आर्जवपत्रिका'।

(६) १७९७मिते वर्षे सर जौन शोरं प्रति कंह्वरदासेन काशीतः प्रेषिता द्वितीया 'आर्जवपत्रिका'।

(७) १७९८मिते वर्षे कंह्वरदासेन राजकीयप्रधानपरिषदं प्रति प्रेषिता तृतीया 'आर्जवपत्रिका'।

(८) १८०१मिते वर्षे काशीस्थराजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्य प्रथमसर्वाध्यक्षेण काशीनाथपण्डितेन लार्डमौर्निंगटनं प्रति प्रेषितं प्रशस्तिपत्रम्।

(९) १८०४मिते वर्षे जगन्नाथपुरीनिवासिभिः पुरोहितैः लार्ड वेलेसलीं प्रति प्रेषितं प्रार्थनापत्रम्।

(१०) १८०८मिते वर्षे यशोवन्तरावमहाशयस्य मुद्रामधिकृत्य रचितं पद्यमेकम्
(११) १८२२मिते वर्षे नागरब्राह्मणेषूत्तराधिकारिविषये वाराणसीस्थैः पञ्चभिर्विद्वद्भिर्दत्तं व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(१२) १८२५मितेवर्षेराज्यविभाजनविषयकोधर्मशास्त्रसम्मतो विदुषां परामर्शः ।
(१३) १८२८मिते वर्षे यदुनाथपण्डितेन विरचितं छत्रादिबन्धनिर्मितं पद्यद्वयम् ।
(१४) १८२६मितेवर्षेबुरियास्थसुखननामधेयया राज्या प्राप्तमुत्तराधिकारिविषयकं व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(१५) १८३३ मिते वर्षे मैकनाटनं प्रति प्रेषितं नेकारामशर्म्मणः प्रार्थनापत्रम् ।
(१६-१७) १८३३मिते वर्षे मैकनाटनं प्रति प्रेषितं केनारामशर्म्मणः प्रार्थनापत्रद्वयम् ।
(१८) १८३४ मिते वर्षे ब्राह्मणधनापहरणविषयकमम्बारामशास्त्रिणा लक्ष्मीदेव्या च प्राप्तं व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(१९) १८३५मिते वर्षे चर्खारीराज्यमधिकृत्योत्तराधिकारिसम्बन्धि काशीस्थ पण्डितानां व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(२०) १८३६मिते वर्षे नेपालस्थपण्डितराजरंगनाथगुरुवर्येषु उदयपुरस्थराणाशरदारसिंहेन प्रेषितं पत्रम् ।
(२१) १८३६मिते वर्षे नेपालस्थमहाराजराजेन्द्रश्रीविक्रमशाहवर्मसु उदयपुरस्थराणाशरदारसिंहेन प्रेषितं पत्रम् ।
(२२) १८४२मिते वर्षे यदुनाथपण्डितनिर्मितं पद्यमेकम् ।
(२३) १८५३मिते वर्षे ताईसाहिबेतिनामधेयया बायासाहिबेतिनामधेयया प्राप्तौरसपुत्रशब्दार्थपरामर्शविषयकं व्यवस्थापत्रम ।
(२४) १८५४मिते वर्षे लार्ड डलहौसीं प्रति विश्वनाथेनाग्निहोत्रिणा चौरापहरणसम्बन्धे प्रेषितं पत्रम् ।
(२५) १८५५मिते वर्षे गुरुदासपुरस्थेन मुरारिनाम्ना प्राप्तं विभाजनसम्बन्धि व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।

एतेषु लेखेषु ऐतिहासिकमहत्त्वं तु वर्त्तत एव किन्तु तत्सहैवेदमपि ज्ञायते यदतिसाधारणव्यावहारिकविषयेष्वपि राजकीयशासकैः सह संस्कृतभाषयैव पुरा विद्वांसो व्यवहरन्ति स्म । भारतीयानां कृते सर्वेषु कार्यक्षेत्रेषु संस्कृतभाषैव राष्ट्र

भाषारूपेण सर्वैः स्वीकृता आसीत्। यदधुना आङ्ग्लभाषायाः स्थानमस्ति तन्नातिपूर्वं संस्कृतभाषयाऽलंकृतम्। पाश्चात्यदेशीयैरपि संस्कृतभाषाया महत्त्वं स्वीकृतमेव।

संस्कृतभाषाविदां विदुषां विशेषतः काशीस्थानां कीदृशः समादर आसीदित्यपि पत्रेषु स्पष्टमेव। कथमतिसाधारणविषयेष्वपि पुरा विद्वांसः स्वयमेव राज्यशासकैः सह निजानुकूलविषये पत्राचारादिकमकुर्वन्नित्यपि सुस्पष्टम्।

एवंविधमहत्त्वपूर्णपत्रादिकं राजकीयाज्ञानुसारेण प्रकाशितं भविष्यतीति ज्ञात्वा तेषां पत्राणां प्रकाशनाधिकाराय 'गंगानाथझा-रिसर्च-इन्स्टिट्यूट'-संरक्षकैः कृता प्रार्थना राष्ट्रीय-लेखरक्षागाराध्यक्षैः स्वीकृता बभूव। अतस्ते भूयो भूयोऽस्माकं साधुवादार्हाः। तदनु अस्माभिः पुनः टेहरीगढ़वालनरेशः ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रकाशनव्यये साहाय्यप्रदानार्थं प्रार्थितः। अत्युदारचेताः स खलु महाराजः परमकृपयाऽस्माकमभ्यर्थनां स्वीकृत्यातितरां धन्यवादार्हः सञ्जातः। एवमस्माकं संस्थायाः प्रथमोऽयं ग्रन्थप्रकाशनप्रयासः। ग्रन्थेनानेन संस्कृतज्ञानां विदुषामुपकारश्चेदस्माकं प्रयत्नः सफलो भविष्यतीत्यलम्।

गंगानाथझा
रिसर्च-इन्स्टिट्यूट,
प्रयाग

श्रीउमेशमिश्रः

A NOTE ON TYPOGRAPHICAL DEVICES AND ABBREVIATIONS USED.

In preparing the Sanskrit text printed in the volume the editors have endeavoured to adhere as faithfully as possible to the textual arrangement in the original documents. The division into lines in the manuscript text has been kept intact except where the limits of space dictated their splitting up. Superfluous words which could not be accommodated within the print-area have been utilised to form subsidiary lines, which appear in the text with an indent. They can thus be easily distinguished from the complete lines. No effort has been made to introduce punctuations that do not occur in the original except for the hyphen which has been used to indicate split up words at the end of a line. The spelling of the original documents has been generally followed, all corrections and emendations being relegated to the Notes. Obvious mistakes have, however, been pointed out in the body of the text by putting the emended reading in round brackets immediately after the corrupt or misspelt word or syllable. All lacunae, whether due to mutilation or illegibility, have been noted by means of blank spaces enclosed in square brackets. The approximate length of each lacuna has been indicated in the Notes. All conjectural additions have been put in square brackets and doubtful readings marked with a note of interrogation.

The system of transliteration followed is that approved of by the Council of Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland, in its resolution dated October 1896, but for the fact that ऋ has been rendered by *ṛi*, च by *ch*, छ by *chh*, श by *sh*, anusvara by *ṃ* and visarga by *ḥ*.

As regards personal and place names and technical terms, modern spellings have been generally followed except in the English Translation where use has been made of diacritical marks whenever considered indispensable.

Ar.	...	Arabic.
Bib. Ind.	...	Bibliotheca Indica.
Bonn Univ. Edn.	...	Bonn University Edition.
Cons.	...	Consultations.
Foreign Misc. Series	...	Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign Department of the Government of India at the National Archives of India.
I. R. D.	...	Imperial Record Department.
O. R.	...	Original Persian Letters Received.
Pers.	...	Persian.
Pol. Cons.	...	Political Consultations.
Pol. Progs.	...	Political Proceedings.
Pub. Cons.	...	Public Consultations.
S. B. E.	...	Sacred Books of the East.
Sec. Cons.	...	Secret Consultations.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Sanskrit papers collected here are of diverse date and character. They do not belong to any particular series. Only two letters fall under the category of diplomatic correspondence, four documents may be described as memoranda and complimentary letters, there are several petitions from people in distress and difficulty, two laudatory verses testify to the literary skill of their authors and in a solitary case we come across an inaccurate copy of the Sanskrit legend on a silver coin issued by Yashavant Rao Holkar. The largest group consists of eight *vyavasthāpatras* or discourses on controversial questions of Hindu law. Unlike the other paper the *vyavasthāpatras* have one common characteristic, for they invariably try to give an authoritative exposition of Hindu law of inheritance although the points at issue often vary and the parties affected range from ruling princes and rich zemindars to Brahman stipendiaries and village priests. Obviously it is impossible to weave a single yarn out of such heterogenous materials. Yet individual documents are neither unimportant nor uninteresting. Each of them must therefore be studied with reference to its own context.

Apart from their historical value these documents have a special interest for us as they are composed in a language known only to the learned few. We do not propose to discuss here whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language. That it served as a *lingua franca* for the people of India long after it had ceased to be a living language cannot be gainsaid. Hindu princes belonging to different parts of the country and speaking different vernaculars found in Sanskrit a suitable and convenient medium for diplomatic correspondence in the last decades of the seventeenth century and donatory grants and inscriptions still continued to be made in the language which seems to have gained in sanctity by lapse of time. These documents go a long way to prove, if any proof is needed, that Sanskrit still served to furnish a linguistic bond among the Hindus of India,

The first in date is not necessarily the first in importance and we may begin with a couple of memoranda concerning one of the early builders of the British empire in India and one of the most notable cases of impeachment known to British history.

MEMORANDA AND ADDRESSES

Two Sanskrit Memoranda of 1787 (*Documents* 2-3)

A masterful person was Warren Hastings. Intent on having his own way in everything he rode roughshod over all opposition, reasonable or perverse. It is needless to say that he was not always right, nor did he receive impartial justice from contemporary critics in every instance. His autocratic methods, fully justified as they were by success, naturally made many enemies who, thwarted in India, carried their propaganda at home to the greater prejudice of their powerful opponent's interests and Hastings found himself impeached for his alleged misdemeanours after his return to England. His strong rule however had won for him the goodwill and admiration of many Indians, and they hastened to testify to the great qualities of the illustrious proconsul when the news reached this country. Four testimonials about Hastings's solicitude for the welfare of the Company's subjects came from Benares alone. The first of these bore two hundred and seventy-seven seals of the notables of the holy city including the Maharaja and attested to the uncommon prudence, rectitude, ability, understanding, and courtesy of Hastings. This memorandum was evidently drawn up in Persian, the language of the elegant and the elite. The fourth memorandum was in Hindustani written in Gujarati character and gave expression to the high esteem in which Hastings was held by the rich bankers of "the New Putty quarters" and the wealthy merchants of Benares. The second and third testimonials are reproduced in the present volume. They bore numerous signatures and referred in general terms to what Hastings had done to earn public gratitude.

The 178 signatories of one memorandum came from the distant provinces of Maharashtra and Gujarat and were officially

described as "Pandits of Maharashtra and Nagara and other Brahmans at Benares". The 112 subscribers of the other testimonial are inaccurately alluded to as Bengal Pandits. The names leave no doubt that all of them did not come from Bengal nor was every one of these signatories a Brahman by caste and all the Brahmans who came forward to record their testimony in Hastings's favour could not claim to be Sanskrit scholars. Mannu Dicchit (Dikshit) Ramanath Dicchit (Dikshit) and Ausan Misra are not Bengali names and probably belonged to the adjoining province of Bihar historically associated with the bigger and more important Suba. Kasinath Maithil very likely hailed from the Darbhanga region. Bihari Charan Sil, Sant Singh, Viswanath Ghosh, Ram Sundar Sahu, Krishna Mohan Das and Ram Sankar Basu could not have been Brahmans. They were indiscriminately grouped together as Bengali Pandits probably because they had all subscribed to a statement in Sanskrit, a language commonly confined to the priestly caste. While the memorialists from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal used a common tongue they did not use a common script. The former wrote in Devanagari but the latter preferred the Bengali character with which they were more familiar. It is not unlikely that the Sils, Ghoshes and Basus were quite innocent of a script in which the learned alone revelled. It may be noted here that the original signatures have been lost and we have at present a list of signatories in Arabic letters appended to the Persian translation.

The residents and outsiders, settled at the holy city of Visweswar, naturally belonged to all stations of life. Some of them were humble pilgrims and unostentatious seekers of learning while a good few must have been men of wealth and influence. We find for instance the name of Jai Narayan Ghoshal among the Bengali memorialists. But rich and poor, learned and unlettered scrupulously refrained from questions of high politics and referred only to those specific acts of the ex-Governor-General which were particularly calculated to benefit the pilgrims, e.g., the suppression of the undue and illegal exactions of the Gangaputras or the officiating priests,

the new facilities for the free and unhampered performance of their religious rites, the appointment of Ali Ibrahim Khan as Chief Magistrate of Benares, and last but not least the construction of a *naubat khana* or music gallery near the gateway of the Visweswar temple. This must have specially appealed to the devout Hindu as a particularly meritorious act. Hastings had the imagination of a real statesman and knew how to win the golden opinion of the man in the street. If he had deprived the holy city of its Hindu ruler he was not long in proving that neither the deity nor his devotees were out of his mind and their needs would always receive his earnest attention. His unchristian homage to a pagan god probably did the greatest credit to this Christian ruler.

What proportion of the outsiders settled at Benares subscribed to these memorials it is difficult to ascertain at this distance of time. The special sanctity of the holy city had from time immemorial attracted myriads of pilgrims from all parts of India. Benares, moreover, enjoyed the eminence of being the greatest seat of Sanskrit learning and thousands of ambitious students flocked there to seek the academic distinction which the city of Visweswar alone could confer. There must have been therefore a large floating population of pilgrims, professors and pupils of whom the 290 persons who made their written deposition must have formed an infinitesimal fraction. According to Prinsep, there were no less than 11,311 Maharashtra, 1,231 Nagara and 3,000 Bengali residents at Benares in 1828-29 or fifty years after the submission of the memorials and it is interesting to note that one thousand Gangaputras ministered to the spiritual needs of 1,22,365 Hindus at that date.

It may be pertinently enquired whether these testimonies were really free and voluntary It is to be noted that Ali Ibrahim Khan forwarded these four memorials to Mr. Jonathan Duncan "in order that he might in his kindness forward them to the Council at Calcutta and request on behalf of the inhabitants that the beneficent gentlemen of the Council having caused the addresses to be translated would send both the originals and the translations to the Presence of the Hon'ble Directors." Mr. Duncan however

was on his guard and refused to have anything to do with these documents as they had "no relation with the Business of the Company."[1] The papers were thereupon sent to Hastings's attorney, Mr. Thomson. Mr. Thomson approached the Governor-General-in-Council with a request that he may be permitted to receive such written testimonies as the native inhabitants of the Company's territories may be willing to bear to the merits of Mr. Hastings and that the Judges, Collectors and residents under the Presidency may be requested to transmit any such testimony to the Governor-General-in-Council.[2] This request was complied with but the Company's servants were plainly warned that "the liberty now accorded is merely to receive and transmit testimonials when offered and you are not to deduce any inference from it that you are authorised to exercise any further interference in the business".[3] It is therefore clear that the Governor-General-in-Council were not prepared to countenance any undue zeal on the part of their officers in securing any testimony in Hastings's favour. They were simply to act as a post office when any memorial was voluntarily submitted. Mr. Duncan's attitude was one of rigid neutrality, if not of frigid indifference.

Ali Ibrahim Khan on the contrary was a friend and protégé of Warren Hastings. It is not unlikely that he might have exerted himself in securing these testimonials from the citizens of Benares. It is evident from his own letters that he did not share Mr. Duncan's indifference in this matter. As the Chief Magistrate of the city he had exceptional opportunities of bringing some pressure to bear upon the grandees, bankers and residents of humbler status if he was so inclined, and the glowing terms in which our memorialists refer to the unique qualities of the head and heart with which the Khan was richly endowed may lead an over-sophisticated reader to suspect that these documents were probably designed as

[1] Ali Ibrahim Khan to Thompson, Public Consultations, 31 March, 1788, No. 14.

[2] Letter dated 2 March 1788.

[3] Circular letter from Mr. E. Hay, Public Consultations, 31 March, 1788, No. 16.

much to flatter the magistrate as to exonerate the ex-Governor-General from unmerited aspersions. Jai Narain Ghoshal also might not have been absolutely uninterested in Hastings's fate though he figures rather low on the list. The memorialists however steered clear of controversial measures and questions of high policy; their testimony is strictly limited to facts within their own knowledge and there is no reason to suggest that it was not given of their free-will because Ali Ibrahim Khan took a natural, if indiscreet, interest in the preparation and transmission of these documents.

The Pandits speak of the rare kindness which they received from Hastings during his second visit to Benares. A sincere patron of oriental learning Hastings must have received his learned visitors with spontaneous courtesy which made a lasting impression on them and when the memorials were drafted the scholars of the South, West and East readily agreed to pay a spontaneous tribute to the charming manners of the Governor-General. It may, therefore, reasonably be concluded that these two documents truly reflect the genuine feeling of the signatories though the idea of bearing public testimony to Warren Hastings's character and achievements might have emanated from men of rank and wealth.

A Letter to Lord Cornwallis (*Document* 4)

Every age has its peculiar standard of propriety. Who expects the Governor-General in the midst of his multifarious pre-occupations to correspond to-day with a complete stranger without any business public or private? But things were different in the eighteenth century and the good lady from Surat who solicited such a courtesy from Lord Cornwallis did nothing unusual. The Emperor of Delhi would not condescend to take notice of anybody and everybody and the lucky recipient of an imperial *shuqqa* would rightly feel proud of so special a favour. Such an epistle would be treasured more or less as a hallmark of high social standing. When the empire declined and the Governor-General became the arbiter of its fate, aspirants to social distinctions naturally turned to him as the source of all

honour. To be permitted to correspond with the Governor-General was a privilege for which the old nobility would vie with the new. Probably it also afforded in an indirect way some security against the repacity of the less scrupulous servants of the state to which residents of distant stations were not infrequently exposed.

The correspondent of Lord Cornwallis was obviously a person of high status and noble origin. She styles herself as *Mahārānī* as well as *gosvāminī*. In India a Muslim mendicant is ordinarily addressed as a *shah* or king and courtesy concedes a similar honour to a Hindu recluse. Our *gosvāminī* was evidently a Maharani by courtesy and owed the title to her connection with some religious order. She refers the Governor-General to a letter from Lala Mayaram who may be reasonably identified with the Dewan of Tegh Bakht Khan, Nawab of Surat.[4] The letter, in question, is in Persian and was dated the 2nd March, 1791. It gives a brief account of the Maharani's family and explains the objects of her correspondence with the Governor-General and may be quoted in full.

> "It is well known that the ancestors of Maharani Bahuji Maharaj always placed their reliance on God and they did not look up to anyone (for support) except Him and they were content with whatever they got from their disciples and followers and did not hanker after more. Their *Thakuradwara* was at Gokul, Muttra, where they received all sorts of favours and concessions from the reigning kings. But on account of their extreme piety and being engaged in the search for God they did not care for these things. When the affairs of the state fell into confusion and religious prejudice gained ground, they left that place and, at the request of their disciples and followers, who lived in these districts, they brought their *Thakuradwara* to the port of Surat. Here they passed their days in contentment on whatever they received from their disciples. As they are always offering prayers for the good of the people and the chiefs of the time, peace and order were established among

[4] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, VII, No. 276.

men, through the power and rule of the English gentlemen. Religious prejudices disappeared. For this blessing they are always praying for the increase of the power and prestige of the English. May God enhance their splendour and dignity and may He give them grace to administer justice to the people! As there was a regular correspondence between the Chief of Surat and the aforesaid Bahuji, the affairs of the *Ṭhākuradwāra* received full attention, and through the good offices of that gentleman, all the officers of the Government gave help and showed kindness. That gentleman having left for England, correspondence with him ceased. But fortunatly his lordship is the Governor-General who looks after the interests of everybody and the fame of his greatness has spread all over and the said Bahuji has heard from all visitors to these parts about the excellent qualities of his lordship. She is, therefore, more than ever engaged in offering prayers for the increase of his honour and glory. She is now desirous of opening a correspondence with him and she is sending a letter to him through a pair of *qasids* along with this letter. I request that you will kindly send a reply to it and inform us of your health and welfare from time to time. May the Sun of your fortune always shine bright!" (OR 58 : *2nd March* 1791).

Obviously Bahuji Maharaj was the head of the Maharaja[5] sect at Surat, for it was by this title that the consort[6] of the pontiff of that order was generally known. It is no wonder that she should call herself *Gosvāminī Mahārājñī*, as Vitthalanath, son of Vallabhacharya, the founder of the sect, was popularly known as Sri Gosaiji, the Sanskrit equivalent of which in the feminine gender is *Śri Gosvāminī*. Vitthalanath's sons and pontifical successors later added the honorific title of Maharaja[7] to their names in accordance with the traditions of the country

[5] On the Maharaja sect, see *History of the Sect of the Maharajas*; Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I; Grouse, *Mathura* and Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion*.

[6] *History of the Sect of the Maharajas*, p. 106,

[7] *Ibid.* p. 44.

and our Bahuji conformed to the usual practice when she styled herself as *Śri Mahārājñī.* The legend on the seal may not be unworthy of some scrutiny. Sri Balakrishnaji, third son of Vitthalanath, was the head of one branch of his grandfather's sect and a temple known by his name (also called Gosavi Maharaja's temple) was built at Surat about 1695[8]. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to infer that Bahuji Maharaja derived her pontifical status from Balakrishna and belonged to his branch of the sect. Probably she was associated with the Balakrishnaji temple of Surat. The Vallabhacharya sect had originally its seat a Gokula[9] near Muttra and, as Mayaram hints, transferred its headquarters to Surat when "religious prejudice gained ground" during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir. One branch of the sect migrated with the image they worshipped to Nathadwara in Udaipur[10] and the priests of Balakṛishṇaji's order probably removed their establishment earlier to safer regions on the banks of the Tapti. In 1872 roughly one-ninth of the Vaishnavas, one twenty-seventh of the entire Hindu population of Surat were of Balakrishna's[11] persuasion. Bahuji Maharaja, as the shepherdess of so considerable a flock, was a personage of sufficient importance and one who was entitled to divine honour from her disciples might reasonably expect some recognition of her temporal position from the secular authorities. Why a personage claiming quasi-divine status should go out of her way to cultivate the good-will of a mere mortal is a different question.

Lord Wellesley and the Puri Priests (Document 9).

On the 18th July 1804, Col. Harcourt addressed a letter to the Governor-General from Cuttack. Enclosed with it was a long slip of paper entirely overlaid with gold leaf bearing a message in a strange character with signatures in diverse scripts. The grateful priests, abbots, recluses, Vaishnavas, Brahmans and

[8] *Surat District Gazetteer.*
[9] Grouse, *op. cit.* pp. 288 ff. and 352.
[10] Grouse, *op. cit.* p. 36.
[11] *Bombay District Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pp. 535-6.

the royal preceptor (*Rajaguru*) of Puri headed by Krishna Chandra Mahapatra[12] had in a Sanskrit epistle paid their humble tribute to Lord Wellesley's process and policy of conciliation. The compliments so spontaneously paid to the Governor-General were by no means undeserved. It was his deliberate object to cultivate the good will and to win the good opinion of the priests of Jagannath. When the second Maratha War broke out and the British troops were sent to take possession of the Maratha province of Cuttack and a Civil Commissioner was appointed with the Military Commander to restore normal conditions in the conquered country as early as possible, they were specially enjoined to look after the interests of the pilgrims and priests of Puri. In the instructions drawn up on the 3rd of August Col. Campbell and Mr. Melville were told :—

> "6. The situation of the pilgrims passing to and from Jaggernaut will require your particular attention ; you will be careful to afford them the most ample protection and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness.
>
> 7. On your arrival at Jaggernaut you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and Pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonies and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance.
>
> 8. The Brahmins are supposed to derive considerable profits from the duties levied on pilgrims, it will not therefore be advisable at the present moment to interrupt the system which prevails for the collections of those duties. Any measures calculated to relieve the exactions to which Pilgrims are subjected by the rapacity of the Brahmins would necessarily tend to exasperate the persons whom it must be our

[12] Krishna Chandra seems to be the only Oriya of note to sign this address. He was the head of only one of the thirty-six departments. Most of the other signatories hailed from provinces other than Orissa,

object to conciliate. You will therefore signify to the Brahmins, that it is not your intention to disturb the actual system of collections at the Pagoda. At the same time you will be careful not to contract with the Brahmins any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government, to make such arrangements with respect to that Pagoda or to introduce such a reform of existing abuses and vexations, as may hereafter be deemed advisable.

9. You will assure the Brahmins at the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, that they will not be required to pay any other revenue or tribute to the British Government, than that which they may have been in the habit of paying to the Marhatta Government, and that they will be protected in the exercise of their Religious duties.

10. In every transaction relative to the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, you will consult the Civil Commissioner whom I have named for the settlement of the Province of Cuttack.

11. You will understand that no part of the property, treasure or valuable articles of any kind contained in the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the Priests or Brahmins or Persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institutions is to be considered as prize to the Army. All such property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use or by the customs and prejudices of the Hindoos. No account is to be taken of any such property, nor is any person to be allowed to enter the Pagodas or sacred buildings without the express desire of the Bramins.

12. You will leave a sufficient force in the vicinity of Jaggernaut under the Command of an Officer whom you will particularly select and in whom you can place perfect reliance for the due execution of the directions contained in these instructions." [13]

Intent on accomplishing a peaceful conquest of Cuttack, if possible, and to alienate the local people from their Maratha

[13] Sec. Cons., 1 March 1804, No. 46, paras 6-12.

rulers Wellesley used diplomacy to reinforce arms and the services of a famous Bengali Pandit were enlisted to remove any doubt that might still lurk in the minds of the temple priests about British intentions. "Jaggernaut of Triveni the oldest and most eminent of the Pandits in Bengal" may safely be identified with the celebrated Jagannath Tarkapanchanan who survived till 1806. Unfortunately, the letter he addressed to "Ramchand and other Bramins residing at the temple of Jaggeranut" has not been preserved but in the English abstract with which Melville and Campbell were furnished, the Pandit

> "States from the knowledge which he possesses of the character of the English, he is enabled to assure Ram Chund & Co. that they need not be afraid to form a connection with the British Government, which is distinguished for its peculiar benevolence to its subjects.—Thus satisfied of this truth themselves, they must exert all their powers of persuation to inspire the respectable characters in that quarter with the same degree of confidence. That it is impossible adequately to express his sense of the excellencies which characterize the disposition of the English; and that the British Government not only permits the Hindoos to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but manifests the greatest degree of benevolence, favour and indulgence towards them, and all persons of whatever persuation, rank, or condition in life."[14]

Ramchand was not one of the signatories to the letter that Col. Harcourt forwarded to the Governor-General, nor is his name mentioned in the text. For all that we know he might have been a close relation of Krishnachandra Mahapatra and might have been dead since Jagannath Tarkapanchanan's last visit to Puri. Meanwhile, the exertions of the mortal Jagannath were being suitably backed by his divine namesake. On the 11th September a Brahman told Mr. Melville, "that the Bramins at the Holy Temple had consulted and applied to Jaggernaut to inform them what power was now to have his temple under its protection and that he had given a decided answer

[14] Sec. Cons., 1 March 1804, Nos. 12-12 A.

that the English Government was in future to be his guardian."[15] Whether the reputed invincibility of British arms had anything to do with the deity's decision did not matter in the least. His predilection for the new power was decisive and we learn from another of Melville's letters (dated 19th September) that "The letter which Col. Harcourt wrote to the priests of the Temple of Jaggernaut gave them much satisfaction, and they sent a deputation of some of their principal Men to meet him one March distance from the Temple." Melville further adds "that they appear to consider their being placed under the protection of the British Government as a blessing of Providence."[16] Col. Harcourt had in fact taken possession of the city of Jagannath on the 18th September and he informs the Governor-General: "Upon application from the Chief Bramins of the Pagoda I have afforded them guards (of Hindoos) and a satisfactory confidence is shown by the Bramins, priests and officers of the Pagoda and by the inhabitants of Jaggernaut both in their present situation and in the future protection of the British Government"[17]

The confidence of the Priests were not ill-placed and their expectations were not unjustified. They were not indulging in oriental hyperboles when they expressed their hope that numerous pilgrims will ere long pour into the holy city from Brindaban and Benares, from Ramnath (Rameswaram) and Dwarka. The Maratha Government used to levy a tax of eleven rupees on all pilgrims with the exception of "the notoriously" indigent and an additional levy of 2 rupees per capita was made by the temple officers. The pilgrim tax used to bring a substantial sum (from 2½ to 5 lakhs) to the coffers of the state out of which forty to fifty thousand rupees had to be annually spent at the time of the two principal festivals. The pilgrim tax was for the time being suspended and such was the influx of devotees that Melville deemed it necessary to prohibit export of food grains from the province.[18]

This was not the only evidence of the prevailing sense of

[15] Secret Cons., 1 March 1804, No. 13.
[16] *Ibid.* No. 14.
[17] *Ibid.* No. 59.
[18] *Ibid.* Nos. 16-18, and 17 May, Nos. 112-13.

security. The Government used to employ an officer of their own to superintend the management of the temple. Its normal income derived from the daily presents of the devotees was by no means inconsiderable and went to defray the ordinary expenses. The deity had extensive landed property as well. Shivaji Pandit, the officer-in-charge of the temple on behalf of the Maratha Government had absconded on the approach of the British troops. But he soon returned to the city and begged to be restored to his office. Melville had no confidence in him but he was temporarily reinstated so that his knowledge of the previous administration might be fully exploited.[19]

Harcourt and Melville received repeated petitions and applications from "the officer and priest of the Temple of Jaggernaut requesting the renewal of the toll" (pilgrim tax) a proposal which met with their unqualified support.[20] Thus was a bloodless conquest crowned with the spontaneous submission of a contented people. When the Puri priests bore a glowing testimony to the blessings of the British administration Lord Wellesley's diplomacy that did not ignore a retired octogenarian in a Bengal village or the poor pilgrims who visited the holy cities of Orissa, or the priests who had the custody of the great temple, was crowned with its greatest triumph. The conciliation of Orissa was by no means a lesser achievement than the elimination of the Marathas from that province.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

Two letters from Udaipur to Nepal (Documents 20-21).

In September 1838 Rana Sardar Singh[21] of Mewar addressed two letters to the Raj-guru and the Maharaja of Nepal. The epistles did not reach their destination and were intercepted at Benares. Apparently they were quite innocuous and conveyed nothing but a conventional message of courtesy. Nor was there

[19] Secret Cons. 1 March 1804, Nos. 16-18, 25, 32.

[20] *Ibid.* No. 37.

[21] Maharana Sardar Singh (1838-42), successor and adopted son of Jawan Singh (1828-38). Regarding him see *Vir Vinod* part XVII.

anything clandestine about the mission for the agents of the Nepal Darbar were provided with passports and letters of introduction from the British embassy at Kathmandu [22] and the party had scrupulously kept to the route prescribed. Their object was professedly a matrimonial rather than a political alliance. The heir apparent to the Gurkha throne had attained marriageable age and the Court was anxious to find a bride for him from one of the ruling houses of Rajwara. As Col. Spiers, Political Agent, Udaipur, explained to Col. Alves, Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajputana—"The Rajahs of Naipaul are said to be descended from a younger branch of the Oodeypoor family and I believe have always, as opportunities offered, kept up a friendly correspondence with each other. The late interchange of presents was, I believe, caused by a proposal made by the Raja of Rewah, to espouse a daughter of the house, which proposal the latter Rajah referred as an act of courtesy to the Ranah of Oodeypur, who is nearly connected with that house and who besides in such cases amongst the families of high ranks with whom he intermarries is generally considered the arbiter of such points." [23] The Rana did for historical reasons, enjoy special pre-eminence among the Rajput princes and the Baghela Raja of Rewa had a special claim on Jawan Singh as he had married two princesses of that family.[24] Ordinarily the political agent's explanation should have allayed all suspicions on the part of the paramount power. But dark clouds were fast gathering on both the frontiers and disquieting signs of unrest had for sometime past been perceived at the Court of Kathmandu.[25] Brian Houghton Hodgson therefore felt uneasy about the recent intimacy between the Maharaja of Nepal and the rulers of the principal Rajput States[26] particularly as the latter were precluded

[22] Campbell to Macnaghten dated 27 February, 1838 (Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 no. 21.

[23] Col. Spiers to Col. Alves dated 27 March, 1838 (Secret Consultation 13 June 1838 no. 15)

[24] *Vir Vinod*, p. 1804. Of the two princesses referred to one was the daughter of Maharaja Jai Singh named Subhadrā Kumārī, the other was the daughter of Lakshman Singh, youngest son of Jai Singh.

[25] Sir William Hunter—*Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson* pp 133-158.

[26] Hodgson to Macnaghten dated 10 April 1838 (Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 No. 27).

from all political intercourse with powers other than the British under the terms of the subsidiary alliance. [27]

In 1837 the old pilot was let down and what restraint Bhimsen Thappa [28] had so long put on the wild ambition of the younger warriors was finally removed. Rumours of impending breach between Burma and the British caused a stir among the Nepalese and an emissary was forthwith sent to the Court of Ava.[29] About the same time Nepalese agents set out for Lahore, Herat and the far off countries of Iran and China. Nor were the princes of the Indian plains ignored and negotiations were opened with Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Gwalior and Haidarabad.[30] Early in 1838 Campbell reported the arrival of "parties conveying letters and presents" from the Rana of Udaipur and the Maharaja of Jaipur.[31] Later in the year Bhimsen "privately sent secret information to the Resident that the Durbar was prepared for hostilities in October, should the account received from Ava, Peking, and Lahore be favourable by that time".[32] Naturally the British authorities were on their guard but if they felt perturbed they did not permit themselves to be stampeded into any hasty action.

[27] Most of the Rajput States concluded treaties of subsidiary alliance with the British Government in 1818. One of the principal terms of these treaties was that the contracting state "will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government". (Aitchison—*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* Vol. III). The treaty with Mewar was concluded on 13 January, 1818.

[28] Prime Minister of Nepal from 1804 to 1839. For an account of his career, see Hunter *op. cit* p. 63 and pp 99-176. For over thirty years he ruled Nepal "with more than regal sway." His downfall was engineered by the Pande faction which, in collusion with the Senior Queen, got him arrested and imprisoned on July 24, 1837. Two years later he was forced to commit suicide (July 20, 1839). In his report dated July 30, 1839, Hodgson wrote of him, "Nor am I aware of any native statesman of recent times except Ranjit Singh who is. . . .worthy to be compared with the late General Bhimsen of Nepal." (Hunter, *op. cit* p 176).

[29] Hunter, *op. cit* p 164.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Campbell to Government, dated 22 January 1838 (Political Consultation 5 February, 1838 No. 14, Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 No. 12).

[32] J. R. Tickel. *Excerpts from the Letters of the Residents at Kathmandu to Government from* 1830 *to* 1840. p. 81 (quoted in Hunter *op. cit* p. 164) It is learnt from the same source that the "Raja was formally petitioned by a body of Chiefs in Council to expel the Resident at once—a proposition to which he tacitly listened."

Meanwhile the Government kept themselves informed about the progress of the Nepalese Mission. As early as the 27th February 1838 Campbell, then, officiating Resident at Kathmandu, had reported to Macnaghten that he had issued "a Rahadari" or passport in favour of one Bansaraj[33] and his party at the request of the Nepal Darbar. Bansaraj was going to Udaipur with presents from the Maharani[34] of Nepal and he was to be accompanied by some of "the Maharaja's private female attendants" [35]. The Mission was to travel via Bharatpur but the party did not reach Mewar till the month of June. Col. Spiers sent to Col. Alves the following report about the progress of the Mission[36].

"The Mission from Nepal alluded to in the 3rd Paragraph of the Resident at that Courts' letter of the 10th of last April[37], arrived in the neighbourhood on the 26th of last month but were not allowed to come on from the Rana having heard that there was a good deal of sickness amongst them and which was said to be Cholera.

On the 3rd instant the Mission entered the town of Oodeypoor and were introduced to His Highness the Rana on the following day, the principal persons belonging to it, viz.,

[33] Campbell to Macnaghten dated 27 February 1838 (Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 No. 21).

[34] i. e. the Senior Queen and Chief wife of Rana Rajendra Vikram Shah. She was an ambitious woman and wanted to rule Nepal with the help of the Pande faction through whose agency she tried again and again to encompass the ruin of the Thappa leader, Bhimsen. In April 1840 she planned a romantic outrage on the British frontier and in June an attack on the Residency. But failing in her attempt to keep herself in power she quitted Kathmandu and died on her way to the plains on October 6, 1841 (Hunter, *op. cit.* pp. 144, 177, 183-185, 188, 199).

[35] The 'female attendants' included 2 slaves, a learned Brahman lady and a head female domestic of the Nepal palace (Spiers to Alves dated 7 July, 1838, Secret and Separate Consultation—1 August 1838, No. 39).

[36] The letter referred to was dated 7 July 1838, and has been recorded in the Secret and Separate Consultation of 1 August, 1838, No. 39).

[37] In this letter Hodgson had reported to Macnaghten that the Nepalese Mission to Udaipur was designed to be a permanent one, and that the alleged pretext of marriage negotiations was false. He had also remarked that "the manner in which the Rajput states are falling into correspondence with Nepal deserves attention, since its object is affirmed to be hostility to our Government".

Soobah Kishan Narayun[38] and Jemadar Raja Bunse Singh,[39] on the part of their master the Raja presented one Elephant, Arms, Cloths &c. to the Rana, and for the Ranees His Highness' wives a variety of clothes, two female slaves &c.

The Mission consists of (besides the two individuals above-mentioned) 1 Jemadar,[40] 8 Havildars and 24 Sepoys, with a number of servants, and four females, two of them the Slaves above mentioned, the account given of the two others, is that one is said to be learned Brahminee, and the other a head female domestic of the Nepaul palace, sent to note the arrangements, ceremonies and proceedings of the female Department of His Highness' household, with the view to their adoption if approved of at Kathmandoo, on their return to that Capital.

No communication took place on the 4th instant with the heads of the Mission and the Rana beyond the usual friendly and complimentary inquiries on such occasions.

Since the receipt of your letter of the 20th February last, I have used my utmost endeavour to discover whether any messages of a nature otherwise than those acknowledged, passed between the parties here, on the arrival of the first despatch of presents for the Rana, but I have not been able to ascertain that anything questionable was said or done.

On talking sometime ago to the authorities here in regard to the expected arrival of the present Mission, they appeared to have no idea of its remaining beyond a short time perhaps to the end of the present rainy season and their returning home again but yesterday evening the Rana's Minister in the course of conversation informed me that the Soobeh or one of the other head people of the Mission had been talking to the Rana's Purohit who is in attendance (as host) on the Nepaulese, as to the expediency of a respectable person on the part of his Master remaining at the Court, to which I understand no reply was given.

[38] The same as Suba Krishnanarayana of the Sanskrit documents.
[39] The same as Jamadara Vaṃsaraja of the Sanskrit documents.
[40] This must be the same as Jamadara Pritama Simha.

On receipt of your letter now under acknowledgement I intimated to the Minister my opinion that the Cultivating any great degree of intimacy with the Nepaul Court at present had better be avoided, upon which he assured me that he was fully satisfied that had His Highness the Rana been aware of my sentiments on this subject at an earlier period, he would have written to the person who was then on his part at Nepal to prevent the despatch of the presents and the Mission, as it was, however, he could not well now (as they had come on so far) send them back without receiving them, but that their stay here should be for as short a period as possible.

The Minister has repeated the same sentiments to me since he communicated with His Highness the Rana on this subject and I have no doubt that the Mission will receive a speedy dismissal from hence.

That there was some foundation for the statement I made to you in my letter of the 27th March last[41], I beg leave to state that the Rana sent me the original letter to his address from the Maharaja of Nepal, and informed me that I might retain it in my possession if I pleased, I took a copy of it (the purport in English of which I enclose)[42] and returned the original to His Highness.

The Rana also sent me the letter from the Rewah Raja in which he alludes to several of his nearest female relations being unmarried and soliciting the Rana's recollection of them, evidently alluding to some former communication on the

[41] Recorded in Secret Consultation 13 June 1838 No. 5.

[42] The following is the purport of the *Kharita* in question:—'After compliments. Previous to this I deputed one of my Jamadars with a Khareeta and presents for your Highness and hope they have reached you safe ere now. In about two years hence it is my intention to get my son married, should any high and respectable family in your quarters be willing to form a matrimonial alliance with this house, I hope you will let me know. You are well acquainted with the castes and families of Khutrees of Rajputana. I therefore beg that you will make enquiries in Jodhpur, Jeypur, Kotah, Boondee and elsewhere, and if you find any of the Chiefs or nobles of these states are willing to give their daughters in marriage to my son, give me intimation of the circumstances that I may send my people and astrologers to make the preliminary arrangements. Continue to favour me with the news of your welfare. It would be better if you were to reply to this Khareeta by dawk, as in that case it will reach me soon.' (The letter was dated *Karttika vadi* 14 *Samvat* 1894 or 27 October 1837).

subject which had passed between them, as this letter contained other matters of a private and family nature I took no copy.

There may possibly have occurred communications of a different nature between these Chiefs besides those of forming alliance with each other, but the authorities of this Court have managed to keep their Counsels more secret on this occasion than they usually do.

The Rana's Minister informed me yesterday that the principal people of the Nepalese Mission wished to pay their respects to me, to which proposal I said I should have no objections whenever it was convenient to them."

For obvious reasons the Governor-General could not permit the appointment of a permanent Nepalese Agent at Udaipur and whatever the ulterior motive the Mission might have there is no evidence to show that the Rana had any share in it. In fact Spiers informed Alves on the 11th of August[43] that he had been assured by the Rana's Minister that the Mission would be dismissed as soon as the weather improved. Meanwhile Hodgson had been unrelenting at the other end in his efforts to have Bansaraj recalled and the Maharaja of Nepal ultimately yielded to his representations[44]. But Rana Jawan Singh expired of a brief illness on the 30th August and his successor Sardar Singh did not assume the *gadi* until a week later[45]. Despite the formalities imposed by public mourning the new Rana lost no time in sending the Nepalese envoys on their homeward journey and they left Udaipur on the 5th October[46]. The story however does not end here.

[43] Secret Consultation 17 August 1838 No. 187.

[44] See Macnaghten to Alves dated 1 May 1838 (Secret Consultation 4 July 1838 No. 4); Macnaghten to Hodgson dated 1 May 1838 (Secret Consultation 4 July No. 13); Alves to Spiers dated 12 July 1838 (Secret Consultation 1 August 1839); Hodgson to Macnaghten dated 24 September 1838 (Secret Consultation 17 October No. 163); Hodgson to Spiers dated 1 September 1838 (Secret Consultation, 14 November, 1838 No. 122).

[45] Spiers to Alves dated 17 September 1838 (Political Consultation 17 October 1838 Nos. 82-83) and Spiers to Hodgson dated 24 September 1838 (Secret Consultation 14 November 1838 No. 122). Spiers informed Col. Alves that Sardar Singh ascended the *gadi* on 7 September although he could not take possession of the palace till 23 October when the heavenly bodies were expected to assume a more favourable aspect.

[46] Spiers to Hodgson dated 14 October 1838 (Secret Consultation 21 November 1838 No. 169).

Bansaraj had in his train a number of respectable ladies and female attendants. Their presence necessarily hampered the progress of the party and the Nepal Darbar was apparently anxious to conclude the ceremonial preliminaries for the heir apparent's wedding at an early date. Once the ladies returned home the negotiations would have to be postponed until they could again resume a tedious and troublesome journey to Rajwara. Hodgson had therefore to yield to the importunities of the Darbar and to allow Bansaraj to halt at Benares pending the permission of the Governor-General[47].

At Benares Bansaraj was joined by Capt. Indra Bir Khatri and his sons lately returned from the Court of Herat and Hodgson learnt that Gurkhas were gathering at Benares and Patna in unusual number.[48] Later he was told that Bansaraj was trying to bring in his train one Laldas, an emissary of the Rana of Udaipur, with presents from His Highness.[49] Such an action would constitute a flagrant violence of the passport and breach of treaty. Mr. Thomas, Agent at Benares, also had "strong suspicion that he (Bansaraj) was continuing his intrigues here by means of his spies"[50] and Hodgson came to learn further that among the latest arrivals at the city was Hardatt Pandit, a Nepalese Agent previously detected in a serious intrigue with Appa Saheb of Nagpur. He had been remanded to Nepal by Col. Alves but had evidently succeeded by some clever ruse to evade the order. This information was duly transmitted to Mr. Thomas and he kept a vigilant eye on his movements. "Mr. Hodgson informed me" he says, "that two men were supposed to be proceeding, under Bans Raj's escort, with presents from Oudeypoor, called Chitoor and that such an act being contrary to treaty, these men with the present ought to be detained; and

[47] Hodgson to Macnaghten dated 17 December 1838 (Political Consultation 2 January 1838 No. 66). See also Hodgson to Spiers dated 24 September 1838 (Secret Consultation 21 November 1838, No. 169).

[48] Hodgson to Torrens dated 29 January 1839 (Secret Consultation 18 December 1839, No. 85.)

[49] The same to same dated 30 January (Secret Consultation 18 December 1839, No. 86).

[50] H. H. Thomas to Torrens dated 14 February 1839 (Secret Consultation 20 March 1839, No. 16).

that this detention might even extend to Buns Raj and his whole party, pending a reference to Government. I was particularly desirous, however, that Buns Raj should not remain at Benares, and I should have contented myself with stopping the men and presents from Oudeypoor, but for the discovery which has been made conceiving that the presents might be more certainly secured after the party should have left Benares, I privately desired the Magistrate to search their baggage at the first police station in the road to Ghazeepore. But the Magistrate had his own reasons for instituting a search; the said Buns Raj having been discovered wandering about the City of Benares, disguised as a Fakeer; and as the Hill people have previously been engaged in swindling practices, he conceived it possible that Buns Raj might have been concerned in similar transactions. The search must therefore be regarded as a mere matter of police; and I have received the Magistrate's official letter, containing his reasons for the search. On the night before Buns Raj received his passport, I sent for him and desired that he would mention the property which he took with him, that I might have the detail entered in that document; but he denied that he carried anything, but articles immediately belonging to himself and followers. The search was conducted by the Magistrate's Assistant Mr. Roberts, before whom he repeated this denial, and frankly produced his boxes for inspection. No presents were forthcoming, except a pair of Gold Bangles, presented to Buns Raj at Oudeypoor; but, most carefully concealed in his bedding and pillow, were discovered sundry letters in silk and muslin bags, some with large Red Wax Seals, addressed to the Nepal Durbar and to the Raj Gooru Rungnath."[51] Such is the history of the two letters now brought to light. As Maddock, Offiiciating Secretary to the Government of India, wrote to Lt. Col. J. Sutherland, Offiiciating Agent to the Governor-General: "You will not find in these letters any expression which may lead to the suspicion of a political connection or of designs hostile to the British Government. The

[51] Secret Consultation 20 March 1839, No. 16.

present Maha Rana found upon his accession to the Musnad the Nepalese Agents established at his Capital, the Government of Oodeypore had been required and was pledged to dismiss them and it may not have been unnatural that upon their dismissal notes of friendship should have passed between the parties principally concerned."[52]. So Rana Sardar Singh was exonerated of any disloyal intention or deed.

Of the remaining eleven letters only English translations have survived. In the absence of the original text it is difficult to determine correctly their character and purport particularly as the English translation of the two Sanskrit letters that have come down to us is extremely inaccurate. It is very unlikly that Mehta Ram Singh, Dewan of Mewar,[53] and Maharaja Lakshmana Singh,[54] younger son of the ruler of Rewah should have in any way compromised themselves in the eyes of the British Government by carrying on treasonable correspondence with a foreign power in so open and indiscreet a manner. The first letter of the series intercepted by Mr. Thomas was obviously addressed to the Maharajadhiraj of Nepal by a learned Brahman engaged by his Agents to perform certain propitiatory rites as recitation of Chandi etc.[55] Reference to an auspicious day in the month of Vaisakh might be without any evil import as a marriage negotiation was in progress.

In any case Hodgson was right when he observed that the letter would probably convey nothing and the real intrigue

[52] Letter dated 4 April 1839 (Secret Consultation 5 June 1839, Nos. 129-30.)

[53] His name appears as the writer of the 7th letter in the group. The English translation as given by Mr. Thomas is as below :—" On Thursday the 10th Buddee of Bhadoon Sree Maha Rana Jee departed this life which occasioned us so much affliction, that it cannot be described. The Huzoor on Friday the 4th Buddee of Assin sat on the *guddee*. Be assured that the usual ceremonies are to be performed according to the custom on this occasion on Friday the 8th Soodee of Kartik. A confidential agent from your Highness has arrived here. He will apprise Your Highness of every account hereof." Secret Consultation 8 May 1839, Nos. 42-43). The letter bore the same date as that of Sardar Singh to Maharaja of Nepal.

[54] His name appears as the addressee of the 15th letter in the series. The date on the letter is 4th Sudi Magh. The year is not given. (Secret Consultation 8 May 1839, Nos. 42-43).

[55] For the contents of the letter see *Ibid.*

would be carried on personally by the emissaries of whom Bansaraj appears to have been the principal.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS

The eight *vyavasthapatras* which fall under this group are all concerned with different aspects of Hindu law of inheritance. The contending parties in four cases belonged to the princely houses of India and it is doubtful whether they were governed by the traditional law to which some of them preferred to appeal. The paramount power had to judge each case on its own merit and on considerations of political expediency, and the decisions are not really on the same footing as legal precedents. The legal texts cited in these documents are, however, of a limited value and hardly offer any fair solution to the controversy in question for they were compiled by avowed partisans and not by impartial jurists. Nor is the interpretation put upon isolated passages extracted at random from the *Dharmasastra* works always borne out by a fair scrutiny of the context or by authoritative commentaries. In any case they have to-day lost all interest other than academic.

The Patiala Succession Case (Document 12).

The first case under review comes from Patiala. Maharaja Sahib Singh of Patiala died in 1813 and was succeeded by his eldest son Karam Singh.[56] Sahib Singh was a man of little ability and less resolution and the administration of his principality had to be entrusted in turn to two ladies of exceptional talent—his

[56] *Karam Singh.*—(1774-1845), Son of Saheb Singh by Aus Kaur. At the outset he was largely influenced by his mother and her minister, Nannidh Rai, but within five years of his accession he freed himself from this tutelage, and assumed the reins of Government for himself. During the Nepal War he aided the British Government with troops, and on the termination of the war received two Sanads conferring on him portions of the Keonthal and the Baghat States in return for a payment of two lakhs and eighty thousand rupees. In 1821 he was involved in a dispute with his mother, but in the end he succeeded in thwarting the latter's extravagant claims with the support of the British Government. In 1827 he lent to the British Government a sum of 20 lakhs of rupees. He advanced to the same Government another sum of 25 lakhs in 1839 and a further sum of 5 lakhs in 1843 in connection with the Afghan War. Two years later he died. (Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab*; Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* Vol. I, p. 117; I. R. D. Pol. Progs 1812-1845; *Gazetteer of the Phulkian States*—published by the Punjab Government, 1909).

sister Rani Sahib Kaur[57] and his wife Rani Aus Kaur.[58] But Sahib Singh was prone to listen to the evil advice of designing courtiers and often attempted to upset the arrangements to which he had been a willing party. The services of Rani Sahib Kaur were repaid by base ingratitude and the wife fared no better than the sister. A *jagir* had been granted to Rani Aus Kaur and her son Prince Karam Singh during the life time of the imbecile ruler and the Rani had been invested with absolute authority with the support of the paramount power before Sahib Singh had passed away. The succession of Karam Singh[59] was therefore uncontested but the claims of a younger step-brother Ajit Singh,[59] then a minor, found strong support in an influential faction. In 1820 Ajit Singh left Patiala with his mother and took up his

[57] *Rani Sahib Kaur*, was wife of Sardar Jaimal Singh Kanheya, the ruler of a great part of the Bari Doab. She was a lady with exceptional ability. She came to Patiala in response to an appeal for help from her brother and was immediately invested by him with the supreme authority. In 1794 she repulsed a Maratha force led by Anant Rao and Lachhman Rao and in 1796 led an expedition against the rebels at Nahan and brought the disturbance under control. The next year she led the combined army of Jhind and Patiala against the formidable forces of George Thomas, and although she was worsted in the ensuing combat she succeeded in making a treaty of friendship with that military adventurer. Soon after this she incurred the displeasure of her brother and was obliged to leave Patiala. Her last days were passed in Bhirian where she died in 1799. Griffin, *op. cit.*

[58] *Rani Aus Kaur*, was married to Sahib Singh in 1792 and bore him in 1797 his son and heir Karam Singh. In 1798 she coalesced with courtiers of her husband to bring about the downfall of Sahib Kaur. This was followed by prolonged dissensions between the Rani and her husband which reached a climax in 1805 when the Rani attacked both Nabha and Jhind, the rulers of which states were in collusion with the Patiala Chief. The dissensions were at last settled by the intervention of Ranjit Singh who appeared at Patiala in 1805 and 1807. Banur and other tracts yielding a Revenue of Rs. 50,000 a year were settled on the Rani for her maintenance and that of her son Karam Singh. Internal confusions, however, continued and were terminated only after the establishment of the Rani as Regent in June 1812 through the intervention of the British agent. The Rani showed considerable administrative ability and ruled with efficiency till her husband's death in 1813. She continued to influence her son Karam Singh's administration, but the latter gradually freed himself from her tutelage, and in 1821 an open dispute took place between the mother and the son. A compromise however was ultimately arrived at through the intervention of the British Government, under which the Rani was put in possession of an estate worth Rs. 50,000 and received the fort and town of Sonour from her son. Griffin, *op. cit.*

[59] The chief protagonist of this move was Rani Khem Kaur, a widow of Raja Amar Singh who tried to place Ajit Singh on the throne with the help of Raja Jashvant Singh of Nabha. The intrigues were however foiled, as the British Agent recognised Karam Singh as the lawful heir.

residence at Delhi.[60] Karam Singh tried his best to conciliate the disgruntled prince and offered him a substantial *jagir*,[61] but nothing short of a partition of the entire state would satisfy the ambitious young man and his partisans. He contended that "in the event of the death of a Sikh Chief the sons on taking possession of the wealth and territory of their Father, either divide it equally amongst all the parties (which is the practice in our family) or adopt the Joondah woond which is an equal division of the property amongst the Rannies who have families by the deceased, without regard to the number of children."[62] It was further argued that "in this country the inheritance does not necessarily fall either to the elder or younger son, and every son who during the life time of his father accepts of a provision and separates himself from the rest of the family, thereby forfeits all claims to a share of the remaining property. This practice is general throughout the States in this part of the country."[63] It was in support of the latter contention that the evidence of the sacred books of the Hindus, as interpreted by five learned Brahmans of Delhi, was called into service. Maharaja Karam Singh on the contrary wrote to Sir David Ochterlony in another connection—"It is evidently the custom amongst the higher Sirdars of the Phoolkee family for the eldest son to succeed to the Raj and Chieftainship, the younger members being provided for by a Jageer suitable to their rank in the state. The Chiefs of less consequence in this family who are my relations divide the property in equal portions amongst the sons of the deceased. It must be observed however that the customs of the Sikhs of the Manjah Doabah and those of the country who live on the banks of the Jamnum in the territory of the Manjah Dooabah vary considerably.[64]"

Despite the qualified contradiction quoted above Ajit Singh's case was not so weak as it might at first sight appear. Among

[60] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 168.
[61] *Ibid.* pp. 168-169.
[62] Ajit Singh's statement (received June 6, 1825)—Pol. Progs. 9 Dec. 1825, No. 11.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] Recorded in Pol. Progs. 9 Dec. 1828 No. 11.

the Rajput princes the law of primogeniture had been with rare exception long in force, but the markedly democratic ideals of the Sikh society favoured the more equitable system of equal partition of the paternal estate among all the sons irrespective of the status of the father. Sir Lepel Griffin observes that "before Ala Singh's death, the rule which prevailed in the Phulkian family, as among the Jat Sikhs generally, was that of equal division between the sons; and among the smaller Phulkian families, this custom, more or less modified, obtains to the present day. Nabha, Jhind and Patiala alone of the thirteen Phulkian houses assert the rule of primogeniture, and even these have, more than once, endeavoured to set it aside."[65]

In 1825 when Ajit Singh's claim to an equal share of his father's estate with his elder brother was under consideration the law of primogeniture could hardly be said to have been fairly established in the three major Phulkian states. Sahib Singh's father Raja Amar Singh had an elder brother Himmat Singh and though his mother was wedded according to the less reputable *chadar dalna* rites, his legitimacy was beyond dispute.[66] Amar Singh's succession to his grand father Ala Singh was not therefore in strict accordance with the law of primogeniture. When Gajpat Singh of Jhind died in 1791 his estates were divided between his sons Bhag Singh and Bhup Singh.[67] This case and several others were indeed cited by Ajit Singh to reinforce his arguments.[68] But the Government of India in their anxiety to maintain the integrity of the states definitely discountenanced any further dismemberment to which the prevalent Sikh practice would inevitably lead and when Bhag Singh proposed to exclude his eldest son from the *gadi* of Jhind by a written testament in favour of his second son, Pratab Singh, the paramount power deliberately withheld the necessary sanction.[69] That was in 1813 and they were not likely to revise their policy so soon when the largest Phulkia state was concerned.

[65] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 14.
[66] *Ibid* pp. 30-31
[67] *Ibid* p. 319
[68] Pol. Progs, 9 Dec. 1825 No. 11
[69] Government of India to Col. Ochterlony dated 15 May 1813, quoted in *the Rajas of the Punjab*, (pp.339-41)

Of the five Pandits of Delhi who subscribed to the legal opinion submitted by Ajit Singh we know nothing. One of them Ramprasad Bhatacharj was probably a Bengalee resident of the imperial city. On the copy of the Sanskrit *vyavasthapatra* printed in this volume only four names—Thakurdas, Ramprasad Bhatacharj, Nika Mishra and Ramkrishna occur. An additional name Karunasindhu is appended to the English translation[70] of the document from which it appears that Nika Mishra was also known as Lachhman Pant.

According to Charles Elliott, the Governor General's Agent, only two points demanded consideration in relation to Ajit Singh's memorial. "Is the half Brother of Maharaja Karam Sing justified in assuming the title of Maharaja, or is his proper designation that of Koor Ajeet Sing ?" "Is the British Government prepared to enter on an investigation of his claim to be put in possession of half the Patiala Raj ?"[71]

The British Government saw no harm in Ajit Singh's assumption of a courtesy title in consonance with the custom of the country particularly as the neighbouring princes and some of the highest officers of the government had more than once made that concession in his favour. Nor were they totally averse to an enquiry into the points raised by him. Ajit Singh's plea however found no favour with the Governor General and his political advisers despite the solemn dictum of the learned doctors of law and the formidable array of carefully selected precedents.[72] His claims were finally rejected in 1829 and Ajit Singh was formally reconciled to his brother when an estate yielding an annual income of 50 thousand rupees was granted to him. The amicable settlement of the dispute was naturally welcome to the British Government of India and received their prompt approval.

[70] Pol. Progs. 9 Dec. 1825 No. 11

[71] Sir Charles Elliott to Government dated the 6th April 1825 (Pol. Progs, 9 Dec. 1825 No. 11)

[72] Swinton to Metcalfe dated the 9th December 1825 (Pol. Progs, 9 Dec. 1825 No. 12).

[73] Pol. Letter from Court No. 13 of 1830.

Tai Sahiba and Baya Sahiba (Document 23)

The next document moots an important and interesting point. Did the Hindu law-givers of old intend that for purposes of inheritance the masculine should also signify the feminine? The Indian Penal Code has a definite provision to that effect and it has been specifically laid down that "the pronoun he and its derivatives are used of any person, whether male or female."[74] But the Hindu criminal laws did not always recognise the principle that the sex of the offending person should have nothing to do in the determination of the penalty. Was the same discrimination to be made in cases of civil rights? Or were the man and woman to have identical status in the eye of law? That is the question indirectly raised in the two letters. Balvantrao Bhavani Athavale addressed to the Commissioner at Bithur and the Governor-General on behalf of his minor grand daughters Tai Sahiba and Baya Sahiba. The letters state the case of the young ladies in a straightforward and unambiguous manner and may be quoted in full :—

(1)

From Tai Sahiba aud Baya Sahiba auras-putras and recognised daughters of late Maharaja Baji Rao, Peshwa, inhabitants of Bitthaur, District Cawnpore, through their maternal grand-father and guardian Balwant Rao Bhawani, dated 26 June 1853 to the Governor-General.—

On 25th October 1851, Mr. Moreland, the Commissioner, read out to Dhondu Pant your orders of the 3rd October 1851 that a maintenance-allowance for him from the Government treasury had been refused on the ground that it had been previously decided that the adopted sons would not be recognised. We two daughters of the Peshwa and our two step-mothers and other dependents were in receipt of 8 lakhs of rupees annually for our expenses till 2½ years ago. That allowance has been stopped by the Company. We therefore submit that in reply to the late Peshwa's application the Company had intimated to

[74] Act XLV, 1860 Chapter II, Sec. 8.

him through the governor of Calcutta that they would provide 8 lakhs of rupees annually for maintenance, and the Governor-General would consider the question of an increase of the amount. That increase has not been sanctioned till to-day. On the contrary they have stopped the sum of 8 lakhs which they had agreed to pay at that time for the maintenance of himself (Peshwa) and his dependents, although these latter are all alive. What is the reason of this? That application should be consulted and taken into considerations. This has been written for your information because it was necessary.

Signed—Balvantrao Athavale
(in hic own hand).

(2)

From the same to the Governor-General dated 26 *June* 1853.

Apprehending that some courts might dispense justice in the case of the two daughters (*Baba Jan*) and punish the misappropriation of the minors' property, Nana Dhondu Pant with the advice of his friends decided that just as he contrived by trickery to seize possession of our wealth so also he would constitute himself the guardian and manager of Tai Sahiba so that he might not be called upon to render the accounts, in the event of his own claims being rejected in England. And by the time Tai Sahiba attained majority he would devise some means to do away with the life of the two heiresses. By this means he would continue to enjoy possession of their wealth. With this end in view he disposed of promissory notes worth 2½ lakhs, and with the money he has deputed some European as the *vakil* and a Muhammadan as a *mukhtar* to England. It is necessary therefore to write that Dhondu Pant Nana is a cheat. This is not our opinion only. Our father was also certain of this, and considering him to be an enemy, allowed him no hand in his affairs. Dhondu Pant's workers are even greater cheats than he, and the Company's servants are in collusion with them. If you become our guardian and make some settlement (*document worn out*). Dhondu Pant Nana is no manager or guardian of ours.

Our father, the aforesaid Maharaja had appointed our maternal grand-father and our maternal uncle as our guardians, according to the *Shastras*. They are the accredited agents of all our affairs from here to England. You please write to England that the case of the *auras-putras* is pending here; the case of the adopted son of the Peshwa should not be heard till this suit is decided and that if the opposite party represents himself as guardian and manager of the *auras* he should be punished (*worn out*). The relevant extract from the *Shastra* written in Sanskrit is enclosed herewith for perusal. Signed—Balvantrao Athavale (in his own hand).

Pers. Original Receipts 18 *July* 1853.

Baji Rao II died in 1851. Of his eleven wives[75] only two Maina Bai and Sai Bai survived him. Of the offsprings of his body all but two daughters Yoga Bai and Kusma Bai died in his life time. Kusma Bai is better known as Baya Bai and Tai Sahiba of the above correspondence must therefore be identified with Yoga Bai. Their mother Ganga Bai, daughter of Balvantrao Athavale, had long predeceased her husband. Of the three adopted sons, Dhondopant Nana Sahib, Sadashivarao Dada Sahib and Gangadhar Rao Bala Sahib—the first and the last alone were alive at the time of Baji Rao's death. Sadashivarao had left a son Pandurang Rao by name.

Shortly after his father's death Dhondopant Nana represented to the British Government that the ex-Peshwa's pension should be continued to him.[76] But the Governor-General decided otherwise. He was of opinion that "the adopted son and dependents of Baji Rao have no claim on the British Government."[77] This decision was communicated to Nana Sahib in October 1851 and was confirmed by the Court of Directors in their despatch

[75] On the subject of Baji Rao's descendants see Letter from E. H. Moreland to J. Thornton dated 17 August 1851 (Pol. Progs. 3 Oct. 1851 Nos. 8-11); and Sardesai—*Marathi Riyasat*. Pt., III, Vol 3, (Ch. XVIII).

[76] *Yaddasht* of Nana Saheb to Moreland dated 29 July 1851 (Pol. Progs. 3 Oct. Nos. 8-11).

[77] Lord Dalhousie's Minute dated 15 Sept. 1851 (Pol. Progs. 3 Oct. 1851 Nos. 8-11).

No. 16 of 1852.[78] It is not however correct to assert that the "adopted sons would not be recognised." Lord Dalhousie's minute on the subject runs as follows :—

> "For thirty three years the Peshwa received an annual clear stipend of £80,000 besides the proceeds of his Jageer. In that time he received the enormous sum of more than two millions and a half sterling. He had no charges to maintain, he has left no sons of his own; and has bequeathed property to the amount of twenty eight lacs to his family.
>
> Those who remain have no claim whatever on the consideration of the British Government. They have no claim on its charity, because the income left to them is amply sufficient for them. If it were not ample, the Peshwa out of his vast revenues ought to have made it so; and the probability is that the property left is in reality much larger than it is avowed to be. Wherefore under any circumstances the family have no claim upon the Government; and I will by no means consent to any portion of the public revenues being conferred upon it. I request that this determination of the Government of India may be explicitly declared to the family without delay."

Apparently the surviving wives and daughters were not pulling on well with Nana Sahib at the time and when his appeal to the Court of Directors failed,[79] they decided to press their own claims.[80] The daughters obviously fastened their hopes on the Governor-General's reference to lack of sons and the anonymous *vyavasthapatra* appended to their memorial strove to establish that according to Hindu Law the word son implies all issues irrespective of their sex. If that contention

[78] Political Despatch from Court No. 16, 1852.

[79] Political Cons. 1 July 1853, No. 68.

[80] Secretary in the Foreign Department to the Government of the North Western Provinces dated 21 May 1852 (Pol. Cons. 21 May 1852 No. 195), Political Despatch to Court No. 17, dated 3 March 1853; Political Despatch to Court No. 44, dated 3 June 1853; Raja Anand Rao Bhonsla to Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Foreign Cons. 12 Aug. 1853 No. 113); Order of Government dated 12 Aug. 1853 (Foreign Cons. 12 Aug. 1853 No. 144); Petition from Maina Bai and Sai Bai dated 1 June 1853; Secretary in the Foreign Department to the Secretary to the Government of North-Western Provinces dated 4 Nov. 1853.

was accepted the situation would radically alter and the daughters would be the rightful heir of their deceased father in lieu of Nana. For the claims of the "aurasa-putra" or the son legitimately begotten by the father have always been recognised as superior to that of the "dattaka putra" or adopted son. An apposite precedent would be found in the case of Baji Rao and Amrit Rao, the "aurasa putra" and "dattaka putra," respectively of Raghunath Rao. Unfortunately other papers relating to this novel claim put forward by and on behalf of Yoga Bai and Baya Bai have not been preserved but it can be safely inferred that their plea was rejected, for the Government wanted Baji Rao's widows to acknowledge Nana Sahib as the duly adopted son of Baji Rao. In their Political Despatch No. 35 of 1853 the Directors observed. "These ladies claim a pension from Government to which they are in no way entitled, and the inheritance of the ex-Peshwa of whom they are not the legal heirs. They also complain of oppressive treatment by Dhundoo Panth. From this they have a just claim to be protected; but as a preliminary it is necessary that they should acknowledge Dhundoo Panth the adopted son of Baji Rao and the head of the family, which we perceive that hitherto they have refused to do". It may be added that in all official communications Nana Sahib has been invariably designated as Baji Rao's adopted son.

Whatever the grounds of their original antagonism the sisters and the mothers were finally reconciled to Nana for they shared his misfortunes after the Mutiny and followed him to far off Nepal[80a]. Yoga Bai and Baya Bai later rejoined their respective husband, the former expired in 1880 while the latter survived till 19th June 1917—a sad relic of a forgotten past and a living monument to the inconstancy of fleeting fortune.

Rani Sukhan's Petition (Document 13).

When a deceased husband's estate is partitioned between two widows does each moiety acquire the legal status of an independent entity or do they still continue to be parts of the original whole? Or in other words in case of the death of one of them

80a. Sardesai. *op. cit.*

is the surviving widow entitled to inherit her deceased co-wife's share of the husband's property? This was the point at issue in the Buria or, to be more accurate, Jagadhri case.

Sardar Bhagwan Singh, *Jagirdar* of Jagadhri, of the junior branch of the Buria family founded by Nanu Singh Bhangi, died[81] in or about 1812. He left an infant son Jawahir Singh and two widows Rani Daya Kunwar, a princess of the Patiala family, and Rani Sukhan, mother of the minor prince. Daya Kunwar was a lady of recognised ability[82] and had administered her husband's estate even during his life time. Sir David Ochterlony, unaware of the existence of the junior Rani and under the wrong impression that Daya Kunwar was the mother of Bhagwan Singh's heir, recognised her title to manage the estate for the minor. The baby however died a few months later but Rani Sukhan was held in close restraint and was not in a position to make any representation to the Governor-General's Agent. In 1817 her case came before Sir David Ochterlony, and he frankly confessed that his sanction of Daya Kunwar's regency was accorded in ignorance of the actual facts.[83] He admitted that the Sikh custom invariably supported the mother's right to the regency during the minority of the son. But the minor was already dead, and although the partisans of Rani Sukhan argued that as the heiress of her son she was entitled to the entire estate, Sir David suggested that the estate should be managed by Daya Kunwar as previously and the income should be equally divided between the two widows. Rani Sukhan however was guaranteed a reversionary right to the whole property in case she survived the senior widow.[84] These terms she persistently rejected.[85] The senior Rani apparently welcom-

[81] D. Ochterlony's statement on the Buriya case (Pol. Progs. 7 Nov. 1817, No. 68.)

[82] See also *Ludhiana Agency Records* 1808-09, p. 50 (Ochterlony to Edmonstone, 4 Feby. 1809.)

[83] Ochterlony to Secretary Adam dated 4 Oct. 1817 (Pol. Progs. 7 Nov. 1817, No. 68).

[84] Ochterlony's proposal dated 26 Sept. 1817.

[85] Ochterlony to Birch dated 29 Sept. 1820:

Ochterlony to Birch dated 17 Nov. 1820 (Pol. Progs. 16 Aug. 1828, No. 16).

Ochterlony's letter dated 9 May 1822 to Government (Pol. Cons. 3 June 1820, No. 12.)

ed the suggestion and the Supreme Government authorised Ochterlony to give effect to his proposal "notwithstanding the rejection of the terms by the younger Rani". The arrangement however did not work. Daya Kunwar had accepted it with a mental reservation, confident that once she was placed in charge of the estate it would not be difficult to defraud her rival of her legitimate dues. She evaded rendering "the account of the revenue and expenditure since the death of her husband" for a long time and when at last she submitted her books they were found to be entirely false. In his letter dated 9 May addressed to the Supreme Government, Ochterlony confessed that his confidence in "the supreme understanding, goodsense, and good management of the Ranee", was ill founded. He was chagrined to discover that "Her averice combined with dislike to Sookhan had induced her to do everything in her power to evade the decisions of the most noble the Governor General in Council and to withhold from her rival and enemy not only the moiety of the treasures and jewels which she is justly entitled to but the very necessaries of life". The Supreme Government had therefore no option but to direct the division of Bhagwan Singh's estates "between the two Ranees" (Pol. Cons. 3 June 1820, No. 12). The estates were therefore partitioned between the two widows with the sole exception of Jagadhri. The town of Jagadhri, in view of its special importance, was held jointly by both the Ranis, though the management was left to Daya Kunwar who had her residence there. Sukhan's agents however were permitted to watch the collection and examine the accounts.[86]

In 1828 Rani Daya Kunwar died[87] and the British Government decided to resume her moiety of the Jagir. Rani Sukhan registered her protest against this decision[88] and sent her accre-

[86] Resident at Delhi to Capt Murray dated 4 May 1826 (Pol. Progs. 16 Aug. 1828, No. 16.)

[87] She died on 14 April 1828 according to Rani Sukhan's 1st petition to Governor-General (Recd. 2nd June 1828)—Pol. Progs. 11 July 1828, No. 22.

[88] Colebrooke to Secretary Stirling dated 23 May and enclosures—(Pol. Progs. 13 June 1828, Nos. 17-18.)

Rani Sukhan's petition to Governor-General (Recd. 2 June 1828)—Pol. Progs. 11 July 1828, No. 22.

dited agent, Ghulam Bhika, to plead with the British authorities.[89] Among the papers produced in support of her claims was the *vyavasthapatra* now brought to light. She did not rely solely on the ancient legal texts but cited a number of cases which she or her advisers considered to be relevant. They laid special emphasis on Sir David Ochterlony's assurance that should she outlive the senior widow the entire estate would revert to her.

The Governor General in Council do not appear to have taken the *vyavasthapatra* seriously into consideration. The Rani was informed that Sir David's guarantee was conditional on maintaining the estate intact and she could not benefit by an offer which she had deliberately rejected. By the very act of partition Daya Kunwar's share of the estate had acquired a separate and independent entity to which Rani Sukhan could have no inherent legal claim.[90]

The only part of the *jagir* jointly held by the two widows was Jagadhri, a commercial town of considerable importance. The British Government were reluctant to place the town under Rani Sukhan's administration as they feared that the commercial interests would suffer in her hands. But they readily conceded that the revenue of the town should now revert to her in consonance with Sir David Ochterlony's original offer.[91]

The decision was obviously based more on expediency than on law or custom, as Gulab Singh of the main branch of the Buria family was permitted to inherit his brother Jaimal's share of the partitioned estate on the death of the latter in 1816. The entire *Jagir* would, in any case, lapse to the Government on Rani Sukhan's death and for her comfort and sustenance a moiety had been found sufficient during the preceding eight years.

89 Rani Sukhan's petition (Recd. 18 July 1829) and urzee of Ghulam Bhika, Agent deputed by the Rani; (Recd. 11 Aug. 1829)—(Pol. Progs. 14 Oct. 1829, Nos. 147-49.)

90 Pol. Progs. 9 May 1828, Nos. 17-18. Stirling to Colebrooke 16 Aug. 1828 (Pol. Cons. 16 Aug. 1828 No. 67.)

91 Pol. Progs. 14 Oct. 1829, No. 150.

The Charkhari Succession Case (Document 19.)

Charkhari is a small Bundela principality held by a scion of the illustrious house of Chhatrasal. The Bundela princes had scant regard for the law of primogeniture and preferred partition of the paternal state though the process was not always peaceful. The extensive territories of Chhatrasal thus inevitably disintegrated in course of time into numerous petty principalities and Charkhari fell to the share of one of his many great grandsons, Khuman Singh.[92] Of Khuman Singh's brothers we are concerned with only two, Prithi Singh was assigned a distinct *jagir* and separated from his elder brother, but Dhund Singh chose to cast his lot with the ruler of Charkhari. Khuman Singh was succeeded by his son Bijaya Bahadur,[93] while Dhund Singh had two legitimate male offspring, Lachhman Singh and Indrajit Singh. Khet Singh of our records was the son of the former. Bijaya Bahadur had no less than three legitimate sons but all of them predeceased him. The bereaved father then applied himself to diverting the succession in favour of a natural son, Ranjit Singh born of a servant girl. Ranjit Singh also died when his father was still alive and Bijaya Bahadur nominated Ranjit's son, Ratan, a minor of six, as his heir and successor and this nomination was duly approved by the paramount power.[94] Lachhman Singh, Bijaya Bahadur's

[92] 'Shumāna Siṃha' of the document. According to the Genealogical tree of the Charkhari family given by Luard (*Central India State Gazetteer*, Vol-VI-A) he was the second son of Kirat Singh. Kirat Singh had predeceased his father Jagat Raj. The latter's death in 1758 was followed by a war of succession between his son, Pahad Singh on the one hand and Khuman Singh and his brother, Guman Singh on the other. In 1761 the quarrel was patched up, and Khuman Singh was assigned the territory of Charkhari with its revenue of nine lakh rupees (Luard, *op. cit* p. 208).

[93] Also known as Bije Vikramjit (Vijaya-Vikramaditya). He was ousted from his territory by Arjun Singh of Banda, but in 1789 he joined Ali Bahadur and Himmat Bahadur in their invasion of Bundelkhand. In return for his services he received from the former a *sanad* for the Charkhari fort (1798). In 1803 he allied himself with the English and obtained from them a *sanad* confirming him in his possession in 1804. He was a patron of literature and author of a book of devotion entitled *Vikrâma-biradavali*. Died in 1829 (Luard *op. cit.* p. 209).

[94] Lt. Moodie to Government dated 8 April 1822 (Pol. Cons. 4 May 1822 Nos. 93-95) and Government to Lt. Moodie dated 4 May 1822 (Pol. Cons. 4 May 1822 No. 95).

cousin, treated this nomination as an infringement of his legitimate rights.[95] He left the state in protest and submitted a memorial to the British Government.[96] His contention was that the ruler of a Bundela principality was not entitled to dispose of the succession as he liked. His authority in this respect was strictly circumscribed by family tradition and local custom and in the absence of a legitimate heir of the ruling prince's body the *gadi* devolved automatically on the seniormost member of the collateral branch, for the bar sinister was for ever a bar absolute in a princely family, and a son born out of wedlock had no claim to the father's throne. As for the members of the collateral branches those who lived in a joint family with the prince concerned had precedence over those who had formally separated from him, for the latter were held to have renounced all claim to the joint estate in lieu of the portion sequestrated in their favour. Bijaya Bahadur, though a man of fairly advanced years, survived the formal recognition of Ratan Singh as his heir-apparent for seven years, but Lachhman died in the meantime.[97] His rights were inherited by his son Khet Singh,[98] who was unrelenting in his efforts to undo the *fait accompli.*[99] His appeal to the brother princes met with a ready response and seven Bundela Chieftains headed by Raja Bikramjit Mahendra of Orcha, the premier Raja of Bundelkhand, testified to the validity of his claims.[100] A

[95] Lt. Moodie to Lachhman Singh dated 29 April 1822 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15) and ditto to Government dated 1 August 1823 (Pol. Con. 24 Oct. 1823 Nos. 53-56)

[96] It appears from Khet Singh's memorial dated 10 May 1826 to Lord Amherst (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15, that Lachhman Singh left for Benares as early as 1820 and submitted his claims to Mr J. Marjoribanks, the Agent of the Governor-General in Bundelkhand. He presented a second petition in July 1821, which met with the same fate as the first one. He appears to have finally retired to Cawnpore sometime after 29 April 1822. See also Lt. Moodie's letter to Lachhman Singh dated 29 April 1822 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15).

[97] Khet Singh's memorial dated 10 May 1826.

[98] In his petition of July 1821 Lachhman Singh is said to have declared that he had transferred all his rights to Khet Singh and to have claimed for the latter 'the succession to the Raj of Charkary (sic) after the death of the Present Rajah.' (Khet Singh's memorial dated 10 May 1826.)

[99] For a succinct account of the efforts made by Khet Singh in this behalf see Lord Bentinck's Minute dated 8 Jan. 1830 (Pol. Cons. 8 Jan. 1830 No. 90).

[100] The testimony was enclosed with Khet Singh's petition dated 10 May 1826 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No 15).

natural son, they affirmed, had no right to a Bundela *gadi* and Khet Singh, according to them, was the rightful heir of Bijaya Bahadur. The testimony of the Bundela princes referred only to the family custom and Khet Singh offered to abide by their arbitration but the British Government did not deem it expedient to reopen this inconvenient question particularly after the formal accession of Ratan Singh to the Charkhari State.[101] Khet Singh maintained that even the traditional law of the land was averse to the decision of the British Government, and appealed first to Colebrooke's *Mitāksharā* (obviously his *Digest*)[102] and later produced a *vyavasthapatra*[103] or authoritative exposition of the law signed by several learned scholars either attached to the Sanskrit College or to the Law Courts of Benares.[104] The Pandits testifying to the cause of Khet Singh represented different provinces of India. Kasinath Ashtaputre obviously hailed from Maharashtra and Krishna Charan Sarma[105] was doubtless a Bengalee as his signature is in modern Bengali script. Hirananda Chaturvedi was probably a native of the United Provinces of today and Shaligram Pandit was probably the official adviser to the British Judge as he described himself as a *Prāḍvivāka*. The English translation mentions Subba Shastri, apparently a Dravid scholar, but his signature is not to be found in the original document.

101 The petition was rejected by the Government of India on 7 July 1826 (Pol. Cons. 14 July 1826 Nos. 65-67).

102 The passages referred to were as follows :—

"*Sec.* 9 *paras* 2—3 *page* 357.

2. Effects which had been divided and which are again mixed together, are termed reunited. He to whom such appertain is a reunited partner. 3. That cannot take place with any person indifferently but only with a father, a brother o a parental uncle—Vrihaspati declares "He who being once seprated unite again through affection with his father, brother or parental uncle, is termed reunited."

"*Sec.* 12 *paras* 1 & 3 *page* 376.

1—Having thus explained partition of heritage, the author next propounds the evidence by which may be proved in a case of doubt "when partition" is denied the fact of it may be ascertained by the evidence of kinsmen, relatives and witness etc. —by written proof or by separate possession of house or field. (Khet Singh's Memorial of 10 May 1826)."

103 This was enclosed by him with his letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe sometime before 26 Oct. 1835 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 14).

104 They are described as 'Pandits of the Adawlaut of Benares' in the English translation (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No 14).

105 In the English translation he is described as bearing the surname 'Bhattacharyya.'

The action of the Government was admittedly hasty and the justice of their decision not beyond dispute. The Government of India observed that if Ratan Singh's claims were negatived Prithi Singh's descendants would have precedence over those of Dhund Singh, from whom Khet Singh derived his rights.[106] This argument could no longer have any force when Prithi Singh's heirs subscribed to a paper upholding Khet Singh's claims.[107] When the disappointed prince preferred an appeal to the Court of Directors[108] he was told that if he had suffered any wrong it was not due to any action of theirs; the responsibility was to be laid at the door of Bijaya Bahadur.[109] But the nomination of the doting grandfather would have little force in law and fact if it had not been confirmed by the paramount power.

Lord Bentinck frankly admitted that the Government case was far from strong. "I am compelled to state", he writes, that "in my opinion Dewan Khet Singh has good ground, for being dissatisfied with the determination of Government." The Governor-General then goes on to show that in the letter of Lt. Moodie, Acting Agent of the Governor General in Bundelkhand, conveying the desire of Raja Bijaya Bahadur "that his grandson Rutton Singh should be considered as Heir to his Possesstions in the event of his not leaving a legitimate son by one of his Ranees", "no mention however is made of the claims of the present applicant, or of other branches of the family". "It appears too from the same letter that there are no doubts of some form having been wanting to legalise the marriage of Rajah Bejoy Behadoor with the grand-

[106] Stirling to Khet Singh dated 7 July 1826 (Pol. Cons. 14 July Nos. 65-67.)

[107] This paper was given to Khet Singh on 'Kartik Sudi 3rd V.S.1891' (4 Nov. 1834) by "Rao Benee Bahadoor Jue Dev, Representative of the family of Prithee Singh", and it was forwarded by him to the Governor-General with his memorial (dated 1 Dec. 1834). In this paper Benee Bahadur stated, "We are six brothers and we acknowledge that we have now no claim to the guddee and that we do not pretend to dispute the right with Dewan Khet Singh" (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No, 15).

[108] This was done in 1833. The memorial itself is recorded in the Political Progs 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15.

[109] Political Despatch from Court No, 19, 1837.

mother of Rutton Sing and that consequently that person was not legitimately descended from the Rajah notwithstanding that Person's assertion to the contrary. On this point however, the Rajah's own letter is conclusive evidence", "As I have before said", continued Lord Bentinck, "I think that Khet Singh has good Grounds for being dissatisfied with the decision of Government and although I am of Opinion that the recognition of Bejoy Behadoor's illegitimate grandson was too hastily sanctioned, I do not contemplate any alteration of that measure; from the document filed by the petitioner it is pretty clear I think that, without our support the present Occupant Rajah Bejoy Behadoor having lately died and Ruttun Singh having succeeded him could not maintain himself in possession of the Raj against Khet Singh's claims, and that we are consequently bound to require that a liberal allowance should be made from the proceeds of the Estate for the support of the latter". The Governor-General concluded that "all the circumstances of the case being considered, an allowance of Twelve Thousand Rupees per Annum should be allotted for Khet Singh's support".[110]

In passing one may be permitted to wonder why the Governor-General went out of his way to use the good offices of Raja Kali Shankar Ghoshal[111] to induce Khet Singh to accept this allowance and then decline to forward his appeal to the Court of Directors. Raja Kali Shankar was in all probability acting in Khet Singh's interest and it is not quite unlikely that the Governor-General might have informally given expression to his personal feelings as to the merit of the case as he did in his minute.

Khet Singh was not unwilling to accept the allowance but when the Governor-General's Agent wanted him to return to Charkhari and swear fealty to Raja Ratan Singh he flatly

[110] Pol. Cons. 8 Jan. No. 90.

[111] This is what Raja Kali Shankar Ghoshal wrote to Brigadier General White in this connexion: "Lord William Bentinck employed me to prevail on Khet Singh to take the thousand rupees. He told me that Khet Singh's claim was just, but that as the act of appointing Ruttun Sing was done by his Predecessor, he could not alter it. He advised Khet Singh to appeal to the King in Council and said he had little doubt that he would recover his Rauj." (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No 14).

refused.[112] In no case would he demean himself by acknowledging as his sovereign and chief a youngster of tainted origin and expose himself to the risk of being put to death at his rival's convenience by transferring his residence to Charkhari.

The case however had a happy ending. If the settled fact could not be unsettled and the state of Charkhari restored to him, Khet Sing was called upon by Lord Ellenborough, as a descendant of Chhatrasal, to rule over another Bundela State, Jaitpur, in 1842.[113] The State lapsed to the paramount power when he died without issue. Not so Charkhari. In 1880 Ratan Singh's son Jai Singh poisoned himself, his widow adopted Malkhan Singh, a descendant of Prithi Singh, and on his death in 1908 his father Jujhar Singh was permitted to inherit the *gadi*.[114] Thus did the legitimate representatives of Kirat Singh's family come to their own.

Documents 1, 11, 18 *and* 25.

Of the remaining four *vyavasthapatras* No. 1 deals with the validity of an adoption and incidentally discusses the question whether a brother's son enjoys in the eye of law the rights and status of a son in relation to a person without any issue. It has not been possible to identify the parties concerned, nor is it known how the point at issue was decided. But the case was obviously of some importance and the estates under dispute not inconsiderable as the Governor-General took the trouble of referring it to Raja Chait Singh of Benares, with a view to eliciting the views of the learned Brahmans of the holy city. In his letter dated September 4, 1778 Warren Hastings informed the Raja that the case before the Council was one that should best be left for the judgment of the Pandits. He therefore requested the Raja to place the letter before the learned scholars of Benares and obtain their considered opinion on the subject. The case briefly told is as follows: Two brothers are in joint possession of an

[112] Khet Singh's petition to the Governor-General written sometime before 13 May 1833.(Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15).

[113] Pol. Cons. 14 Dec. 1842 Nos. 132,133, 14 June 1843 Nos. 795, 815 and 816.

[114] Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V, p. 23.

ancestral zamindari. One of them was without any issue while the other had several sons legitimately begotten. The first adopted a son though his nephews were alive. Is the adoption valid and will the adopted son inherit his adoptive father's share of the family estates and thus exclude the legitimate sons of the other brother from that part of the joint property ?[115] Chait Singh's reply forwarding the *vyavasthapatra* in question was received at Calcutta on November 7 within two months of the enquiry. "I have received your letter accompanying a question of law to be settled by the Pandits. I invited the distinguished Pandits of Benares and put the question to them. They considered it from every point of view in the light of the *Sastra* and have arrived at an unanimous decision. I am sending their verdict on a separate piece of paper duly signed by them. It is hoped that the Pandits of Calcutta will be able to explain it to you."[116]

In 1778 Calcutta could not claim to be as distinguished a seat of Sanskrit learning as Benares or Nabadwip. The reference of a highly controversial question to the legal luminaries of Benares therefore meant no slur on Bengalee scholarship and the signatories really represented the elite of that city, for many of them appended their signatures to the memorandum of 1787 (document No. 2) testifying to the meritorious deeds of Warren Hastings.

The unanimous verdict was in favour of the adoption.

Another *vyavasthapatra* (Document 11) relates to the joint property held by Nagar Brahmans. The subject of enquiry is whether an estate held in common by five Nagar brothers and their sister should escheat to the King on the failure of male heirs ? Document 18 raises a question of much wider implication. Can a grant made to a Brahman scholar for the maintenance of his family escheat to the State at any time under any circumstance ? While Document 11 bears the signature of five Brahman scholars of Benares, the majority of whom seems to have come from the south if their surnames offer any sure clue to

[115] Copies of Persian Letters issued, Vol. 10, p. 101 No. 163. English Translation of Persian Letters issued, Vol. 17 pp. 43-4 No. 69.

[116] Original Persian Letter Received, 1778, No. 101.

the region of their origin, the value of Document 18 rests entirely on the authorities and the texts cited, for it derives no additional importance from the support of any contemporary jurist of repute. But if we know nothing about the Nagar Brahman family for whose benefit the former paper was drawn, it is not impossible to establish the indentity of the parties that submitted the anonymous one. On the docket of this document are found two names, those of Lakshmi Bai and Amba Ram Shastri. Among the records of the Government of India are several petitions[117] from these two persons, mother and son, for the partial restoration of a pension which had been granted to Amba Ram's father, Vyankat Ram, in lieu of rent-free lands granted to his grandfather, another Vyankat Ram Shastri, by the Peshawa Balaji Baji Rao in recognition of his piety and erudition. The hereditary *inam* lands confirmed by successive rulers were sequestrated after the annexation of the Peshawa's territories. The petitioners belonged to the city of Mandleshwar in Central India and had travelled to Calcutta to present their case before the Governor-General in Council and for some time resided in the Jorasanko area of the town. Their claims were supported by Mr. F. H. Sandys,[118] Assistant to the Resident at Indore, even after the Governor-General in Council had refused to reconsider the earlier decision. But it is not known whether a more compassionate view of the case was subsequently taken. In any case the injunctions of the sacred books had but little influence on the Governor-General and his Councillors.

The last paper of this group, Document 25, was submitted by a Punjabi Brahman, Murari by name, in support of his appeal against the judgment of the Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, which was later upheld by Mr. Robert Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab. Murari's father had two wives, by whom he had three sons, Murari and his step-brothers Khushal and Narain. They were priests by profession and

[117] Pol. Cons. 10 Dec. 1834 No. 42; 8 June 1835 Nos. 20-21 and 15 June 1835 Nos. 112-114.

[118] Sandys to Macnaghten 20 March and 12 May 1835 (Pol. Cons. 8 June 1835 No. 21); Sandys to John Bax, Resident at Indore dated 12 May (Pol. Cons. 15 June 1835 No. 113).

during the father's life time it was decided by him that the perquisites of his office should be divided equally between Murari on the one hand and Khushal and Narain on the other *i.e.* Murari should perform the professional duties for his father's clients for fifteen days every month, while the remaining half of the month would be allotted to his step-brothers. After their father's death Khushal and Narain refused to abide by this arrangement and the matter went to the court. In his application for revision of the judgment Murari contended that both the local custom and the traditional law were in his favour. Raghunāthanandana Bhattāchārya referred to in the first of the 'legal texts' was no other than the famous Smārta Raghunandana. It is remarkable that his authority should be cited in a law suit in the Punjab. Obviously legal learning did not recognise provincial limits and wandered far afield in search of favourable texts. It is to be noted that in the Patiala succession case also Prince Ajit Singh made a similar plea, but this document has ceased to be of any practical interest to-day.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Three Petitions from Kanhardas (Documents 5, 6 and 7.)

Kanhardas, a Brahman youth of Gwalior, came to Benares in the eighties of the eighteenth century, to complete his education. He had brought some money with him to defray his expenses and when his slender funds were exhausted, earned an easy living, as many of his fellow students in like circumstances doubtless did, by reciting the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* to the devout people of the holy city. Lodging probably offered no serious difficulty to a Brahman seeker of learning in those charitable days. When the first of the following letters was penned Kanhardas used to lodge at the Daranagar residence of Mankumari in the neighbourhood of Vriddhakaleswara temple.[119] Mankumari

[119] On Vriddhakaleswara temple see Sherring, *Sacred City of the Hindus* and Nevill, *Gazetteer of the Benares District*. The temple lies just to the north of Bishweshwarganj, close by the old tank known as "Hara Tirath" (Haratirtha) and is reported to be one of the oldest Hindu edifices in Benares.

seems to have been a lady of affluence as she was the *guru* of Raja Chait Singh's mother.[120] Kanhardas probably joined the Sanskrit Pathsala founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1792,[121] for reference is made to the professors in charge of the Pathsala in the second letter. The course of studies that he had chosen for his own was a lengthy one. The hardworking Brahman was already twenty-six and had yet five years to complete his favourite studies. He had not started his scholastic career late. Seven diligent years, three at his native city and four at a now-forgotten seat of learning, Sihuṃda, had he devoted to the cultivation of his mind before he turned his ambitious steps towards the farfamed seminaries at the confluence of Varuṇa and Asi. There he had spent another nine years of studious labour and if things had gone well he might have commenced the struggle for worldly existence armed with a Benares Degree at the youthful age of thirty one ! Happily the universities of to-day are less exacting and release their alumni much earlier. At twenty six an unforeseen misfortune befell our student. His arduous labours had evidently told upon his health and half an hour's writing and an hour's reading would cause severe headache and the weary eyes of the unhappy patient would start profusely streaming. Strive as he might he could not even glance through the learned tomes he had so assiduously perused. Such medical remedies as his means permitted proved of little avail. When at the tether's end he sought inspiration from his favourite *Sastras* and concluded that to the ruler of the land alone could he turn for succour in his distress, for had not Śri Kṛishṇa himself observed in the second half of the tenth section of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* that it is the supreme duty of the King to relieve the distressed. Charity finds its own reward in untarnished fame in this world and eternal bliss in the next. Witness the glorious instances of Hariśchandra, Rantideva, Mudgala, Śibi, Bali and the charitable pigeon. To Kanhardas

[120] i.e. widow of Raja Balavant Singh. Her name is not known, but she is probably the same lady whom R. N. Rattray referred to in his letter dated 23 March 1813 to John Monckton (*I. R. D. Foreign Misc. Series* No. 76).

[121] On this point see Page 50 ff *infra*.

Sir John Shore was a "*svarāt*," a king in his own right, a *bhūpa* a ruler of the realm, *avanīpuraṃdara*, Lord of the World and the Governor-General was above all the only refuge of the learned (*vidushāmekamāśrayam*). He, therefore, addressed two letters to Sir John Shore imploring his assistance in his afflictions. If the Governor-General condescended to recommend the poor supplicant to a European officer at Benares the latter would probably provide for his food and clothing as well as for the treatment of his eyes. If his ailments were cured he proposed to complete his studies in five years and wherever he might subsequently go his blessings would for ever attend the Governor-General, whose eulogies he would everywhere sing. If perchance his sight did not improve he would spend his remaining years at Benares ever praying for the well-being of his benefactor. Although he was not in any way acquainted with Sir John the fame of his sympathy for the indigent induced him to present his case for the Governor-General's consideration.

The letters bear no date but from an entry in English at the end it appears that the first was received on the 8th November, 1796 (probably) at the Resident's office at Benares and it reached the headquarters a week later. This conjecture is corroborated by the second letter, for *Kārttikasudi ashṭamī* corresponds to the 8th November. The second letter arrived at Calcutta on the 30th May of the next year. Kanhardas gratefully acknowledges Sir John's kindness and refers to his visit to Benares on his way to Lucknow in January, 1797 (*pausamāsasya saptamyām guruvāsare*). The third and the last of the series addressed to the members of the Supreme Council (received on the 22nd May, 1798) after Sir John Shore had relinquished office and sailed for home (12th March, 1798) also proves that the poor Brahman's prayer did not go unheeded. The paper on which it was written testifies to the improvement in the writer's finances, for unlike the previous epistles it is liberally bespangled with tiny diamonds in gold. The gratitude of the Brahman had meanwhile elevated Shore to the rank and status of an emperor and he tells the Councillors that the Governor-General had made some provision for him at Benares wherefrom he had derived considerable benefit. Subse-

quently, great favours were conferred on him by the sovereign of Bundelkhand who also entrusted him with some presents for Sir John Shore. He, however, learnt that Sir John had left for home and requested the Councillors to direct him as to whom and where the presents should be delivered.

Few, if any, student, however poor, would to-day dream of bringing his woes to the notice of so exalted a personage as the Governor-General. But in the early days of the British empire in India the Governor-Generals did not rule in splendid isolation. The European community even in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay was very small and tradition demanded that the first executive officer in the land should not be entirely indifferent to the sorrows and joys of the Indian notables. Thus, when a marriage was celebrated in an aristocratic family of Clacutta or an heir was born to a nobleman of Murshidabad the Governor-General was expected to send a letter of congratulations and the customary *khelat*. Even an opulent banker of Benares was consoled in his bereavement with a sympathetic letter and a robe of honour from the Governor-General.[122] Benares was in those days far off from Calcutta, but the highest officials were not less accessible to the poorest citizens than they are to-day. The civil servants of the East India Company had perforce to spend their best years in India and during their long sojourn they learnt to respect the customs and traditions of the country. It is to be noted that not one of the three letters bearing the name of Kanhardas was accompanied by an English translation. We have a Persian version of the first but the other two were unprovided with any such key. Sir John Shore was well versed in the ancient lores of the east. He was no stranger to the charms of Persian poetry or the sublime speculations of Hindu philosophy. Once he actually contemplated an English translation of the *Yoga-Vāśishṭha Rāmāyaṇa* and his correspondence bears ample testimony to his profound knowledge of the classics[123]. It

[122] *See Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII, No. 1214.

[123] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XVIII and *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*, Vol. I.

was in recognition of his uncommon erudition that the Governor-General had been elected to succeed Sir William Jones as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir John Shore could very well be expected to appreciate the five laudatory verses with which Kanhardas prefaced his first letter and when the number of the verses was increased to nine in the second, the ardent student of oriental styles was probably satisfied as to his correspondent's merit and worth. The student paid no formal compliment to his noble benefactor when he addressed Sir John Shore as *vidvaajjana-kamalakula-prakāsanamārtaṇḍamūrttī*.

Did Kanhardas appeal to his natural liege lord in the first instance? We do not know. Daulat Rao Sindhia was a powerful prince, but in November 1796 he was away from his capital. The future of the Maratha empire and the ruling house of Poona was then hanging in the balance and the heir of Mahadaji Sindhia could not afford to remain an indifferent spectator. In his own interest he had to play an effective part in the making and unmaking of governments and then followed in quick succession a dispute for the Holkar's *musnad* and the rebellion of the Bais. From 1796 to 1798 Daulat Rao was too occupied with the distracting problems of the Maratha state to attend to the needs of an ailing student at Benares. It is extremely doubtful whether Kanhardas's letter, if one was ever addressed, could reach the ruler of Gwalior in the far off Deccan.

Who was the King of Bundelkhand who befriended the indigent Brahman? There were more than a dozen Bundela principalities, big and small. Some of them acknowledged the political suzerainty of the Sindhia, others were directly under the Peshwa's hegemony. It may not be profitable at this distance of time to speculate about the identity of the prince whose munificence led the grateful scholar to indulge in undue exaggeration, that identified a part with the whole. But one may perhaps be permitted to hazard a guess. Hirde Shah, the founder of the ruling house of Panna, bore the title of Raja of Bundelkhand and Dhokul Singh, his descendant, might by right of inheritance claim that dignity. He was, however, completely under the domination of Ali Bahadur, Nawab of Banda, and representative

of the Poona Government in Bundelkhand. Chatrasal Bundela professed to treat Baji Rao I as one of his sons and had formally bequeathed one third of his territories to the Brahman general. Ali Bahadur, as the Peshwa's grandson, might be appropriately styled as *Bundelekhaṇḍākhyarashṭrādhīśa*. This hypothesis further gains in strength if Sihuṃda of the first letter is identified with Sihonda a town in the Banda District, which was part of Ali Bahadur's dominions. It was the headquarters of a pargana under Akbar and a capital under the Rajas of Banda.[124] Ali Bahadur, an heir of Brahman tradition, a representative of a Brahman state, might have befriended a Brahman student who once prosecuted his studies at Sihonda.

We do not know whether Kanhardas employed a skilled scribe to write his petition to so high a personage as the Governor-General. The letters form good specimens of Devanagari calligraphy and seem to be in the same hand. The writing is neat and legible but the text is not entirely free from slips of pen. One peculiar use of a purely Sanskrit word deserves particular notice specially as the writer happened to be a genuine student of Sanskrit. Kanhardas calls his letter an *ārjavapatra*, but *ārjava* used in its original sense is hardly appropriate. On the other hand if it is treated as a sanskritised form of a common Persian word, *araz*, it fully accords with the real character of the letters. Kanhardas exercises the time-honoured prerogative of a Brahman when he offers his benedictions to the Governor-General and his Councillors irrespective of their age, rank and status.

Kasinath Pandit's Petition (*Document* 8.)

Most Indians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries used courtly Persian in their official correspondence, a few preferred their mother-tongue and a microscopic minority, learned Brahmans as a rule, had recourse to classical Sanskrit. So far only one instance of a bilingual letter addressed to the Governor-General of the day in which the Persian text is prefaced by two

124 *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289-90.

laudatory Sanskrit verses in a sonorous and difficult metre (*Śragdharā*) has come to our notice. The writer, Kasinath Pandit, was the first Rector[125] or the head preceptor, as he is variously styled in contemporary records, of the Sanskrit College or Pathsala founded by Jonathan Duncan at Benares and held that office for nearly a decade. We know very little or nothing about him except that under his administration the Pathsala belied the high hopes of the well-meaning founders and became an object of common ridicule. Kasinath's scholarship has not been called into question by any of his critics. He was in all probability a native of Bengal, as one of the eight[126] foundation professors of the Pathsala, Syamananda Bhattacharji, is described as "son of Kashinath". Among the pilgrims and pandits who in 1787 bore testimony to the character and good government of Warren Hastings we come across two Kasinaths who subscribe themselves as Maithil and Sarma respectively.[127] Of these, Kasinath Sarma is probably our man. It is extremely unlikely that a person of his ambition and enterprise would keep aloof from a movement set on foot to vindicate the character and administration of an ex-Governor-General[128] and a Maithil's son does not usually call himself a Bhattacharji. "Sero Shastri Guru Tarkalankar Cashinath Pandit Juder Bedea Behadut" is probably

[125] Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801 No. 110, and George Nicholl's *History of the Benares College*, p. 4.

[126] In Nicholl's work the other names are given as "Bireshur Sheth, (Bireshwar Shesh ?) Professor of the large Vyakarana of Panini and the Bhasya of the Rigveda," "Ramchandra Tara, Professor of the Veda and Vedanta," "Soolepa (Sooba ?) Shastri, Professor of the Mimamsa." "Gossain Anandgir, Professor of the Purans and Cabe (Kavya) Shastra," "Luchmipat Joshi, Professor of the Jotish Shastra," "Gangaram Bhat, Professor of the Vaya (Ayurveda) Shastra," and "Ramprashad Tarka Panchanan, Professor of Nyayasastra."

[127] DOCUMENT 3 in the present collection.

[128] As a matter of fact in the Sanskrit letter of congratulation addressed to Hastings by the Benares Pandits on 'the 7th of the light fortnight of the moon of Phalgoona in the 1852 of the Samvat' (15 March 1796) his name appears at the head of the other signatories. The original letter is not traceable among the archives of the Government of India, but a translation of it will be found in the *Debates of the House of Lords* (1797), pp. 755-768. Here, his name is followed by the designation "Professor of General Knowledge" as well as his seal, wherein he is described as 'Ornament of Logic and among Pandits called the Chief of Science' (*Vide* 'The Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits' by P. K. Gode, M.A., in *Journal of the Tanjore S. M Library*, Vol. II, No. 1).

the nineteenth century English corruption of the Persian equivalent of Sirah Sastri Guru Pandit Kasinath Tarkalankar Yajurvedi.

Whether the idea of founding a Government school for Sanskrit studies at Benares on the analogy of the Madrasa at Calcutta really originated with Kasinath we do not know. But in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we need not summarily dismiss his claim as absolutely unfounded. Charles Wilkins probably experienced some difficulty in securing the services of a competent Brahman scholar,[129] for in those days orthodox Brahmans would not ordinarily agree to interpret their sacred rites and doctrines to a Christian student. Even a personage of Sir William Jones's rank met with rebuff from certain Pandits of the more cosmopolitan and less exclusive city of Calcutta. Our records are silent about Wilkins's suggestion to Warren Hastings, Kasinath's contemplated journey to Calcutta and his conversation with Jonathan Duncan. All that we definitely know is that Duncan suggested to Lord Cornwallis in a letter dated 1st January, 1792, that a part of "the surplus Revenue expected to be derived from the permanent settlement" "could not be applied to more general advantage or with more local propriety than by the Institution of a Hindoo College or Academy for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith and the common resort of all their tribes."[130] Duncan believed that two very desirable objects would be simultaneously attained by the foundation of such an Academy. The services of the professors and students might be utilised for the collection and transcription of rare Sanskrit treatises on religion, laws, sciences and arts and a valuable manuscript library might thus be "accumulated at only a small expense to Government."[131] The British Government

[129] That Kasinath was closely associated with Wilkins is attested by the following passage in the Commentary on Govardhana Kaul's paper on the Literature of the Hindus published in *Asiatic Researches* Vol. I ' When Casinatha Serman who attended Mr. Wilkins was asked what he thought of the Paniniya he answered very expressively " It was a forest." ' (p. 351).

[130] *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, p. 10.

[131] *Ibid.* p. 11.

would thus gain great credit and popularity with the Hindus in general by outdoing their own princes in their zeal for the preservation and propagation of Hindu learning, and the college in due course would be "a nursery of future doctors and expounders of Hindu Law, to assist the European Judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people". Such advantages could be secured according to Duncan's estimate at the comparatively moderate cost of rupees 14,000 per annum. The Governor-General readily approved of the scheme and authorised the Resident to increase the establishment to Sicca Rupees 20,000 per annum "from the commencement of the Fussly year 1200" "provided upon the arrival of that period you shall be of opinion (of which you will advise us) that the surplus collections will be adequate to the payment of the amount."[132] So in due course the Sanskrit Pathsala was started with eight professors and Kasinath as Head Preceptor. If he had really exerted himself heart and soul for ten years with a view to establishing a Sanskrit Academy, his labours found ample reward in the monthly emoluments of rupees 200 besides the prestige and patronage associated with the preceptor's office.

The Governor-General in Council was the official visitor of the newly-founded institution, but the Resident, as his Deputy, was the person really responsible for the success of the scheme. Duncan took every care not to offend the religious susceptibilities of the Brahmans on whose co-operation the future of the Pathsala largely depended. One of the rules framed by him definitely laid down that "the Professor of Medicine must be a Vaidya, and so may the teacher of Grammar; but as he could not teach Pāṇini, it would be better that all except the physician, should be Brahmans". The next rule provided that the Brahman teachers were to have preference over "strangers" in succeeding to the headship, and it was also decided that the discipline of the college should conform in every respect to the edicts of Manu and the examination of students in "the more secret branches of learning

[132] *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp. 12-13.

were to be conducted periodically by a committee of Brahmans" and the professors were not expected to impart lessons in sacerdotal subjects in the presence of non-Brahmans.[133] Hindu sentiments were, therefore, fully taken into account and all possible concessions were made to Brahman prejudices in recruiting professors and in framing regulations. There is reason to suspect that even the professorship of medicine went to a member of the priestly caste.[134]

The college records are wanting for the first seven years, and it is not clear when exactly its affairs took an unhappy turn. Duncan left Benares in 1795 and in 1798 the supervision of the college was vested in a Committee consisting of G. F. Cherry, Samuel Davis and Captain Wilford.[135] Cherry was a Persian scholar of some repute and met with a tragic end at Benares in January 1799. Davis had interested himself in the study of Hindu astronomy and Wilford, a devoted student of Sanskrit, was appointed the Secretary of the Committee. He was originally appointed to survey the boundaries between the British districts and the Nawab Vizier's territories, but the Oudh officers offered all sorts of obstacles to him and his work had to be suspended.[136] Meanwhile he had made good use of his enforced rest, and Jonathan Duncan suggested to Sir John Shore that Wilford should be permitted to continue at Benares and complete his researches. In a minute dated 13th June 1794, Sir John Shore recommended that "Wilford be allowed to remain in Benares in his present situation with an additional allowance of Rs. 600 p.m., as a recompense for the expense and labour of procuring materials for and

133 *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp. 11-12 and Nicholls, *op. cit.* p. 9.

134 Gangaram Bhatt who was appointed to the post seems to be identical with the Pandit who signed as " Gangaram Sharma " on the Sanskrit address referred to in note 128 *Supra*. His name appears as ' Bhutt Gangaram' in the list of signatories to the Sanskrit Memorandum addressed by the 'Maharashtra and Nagara' Brahmans of Benares on 16 Nov. 1787 (DOCUMENT 2 in the present collection).

135 Nicholl's *op. cit.*, p.5.

136 Wilford to Duncan dated 10 May 1794. Pub. Cons, 1794, Pub. Cons 1794 13 June No. 8 and Duncan to Shore 4 June 1794. Pub. Cons 1794 13 June No 7.

prosecuting in the above city or elsewhere an enquiry into the knowledge of the Hindus in Geography as well as other branches of science and also into their ancient History."[137] The personnel of the Committee was, therefore, judiciously selected and its enquiries revealed a sad state of things.

On the 13th March 1801, the Committee (meanwhile Cherry and Davis had been replaced by Neave and Deane) reported that "of 202 scholars mentioned in the Bill of Kasinath, the Head Preceptor, only fifty or thereabout attended regularly, that 50 or 70 more attended once or twice a month and the remainder had hardly been heard of even by name. It further appeared that for these 5 or 6 years there had only been eleven instead of twelve Pandits in the College and that the head Preceptor Kasinath had entered the name of a fictitious Pandit in order to receive his allowance".[138] Kasinath was further guilty of contumacy and refused to prepare the pay-roll in accordance with the instructions of the Committee. He was thereupon dismissed[139] and ordered to make over the property of the Pathsala to Jata-Sankar Pandit. Kasinath's defence is offered in the bilingual letter addressed to Lord Mornington.

That Kasinath had been guilty of serious malversation admits of no doubt. But in fairness to him it should be pointed out that he had for his colleagues persons far from competent or responsible. Soon after Lord Mornington's arrival in India (the letter was received on the 3rd August 1798), Kasinath complained to the Governor-General that "During the last four months five of the twelve Pundits attached to this Madrasa having entered into collusion have been in the practice of going daily to the Omlah of several of the Gentlemen here, in consequence of which the duties of the Madrasa are impeded. They disregarded

[137] Pub. Cons. 18 June 1794 No 9.

[138] Pol. Cons. 1801, 16 April No 110.

[139] This occurred in April 1801 (Pol. Progs. 16 April 1801). For Jata-Sankar's appointment see Pol. Cons. 3 June 1801 No 34. He may reasonably be identified with "Deeksheeta Jata Sankara, Professor of the Rig Veda", who was also a signatory to the Sanskrit address referred to in Note 128 *Supra*. He was replaced by Pandit Ramananda sometime after July 1808 (Nicholls, *op. cit*, pp. 12 and 14).

my remonstrances on the subject. I have already mentioned this circumstance to the Gentlemen of the Court of Appeal as well as to the judge of this District who intimated to me in reply that they could not act in the instance without order from Government. I have therefore to request that your Lordship will authorise either the gentlemen of the Court of Appeal or the Judge of this District to investigate the circumstance and to do whatever may appear to them to be proper".[140] It appears that the professors were permitted to hold their classes at their respective residences and though in complete conformity with the old traditions of the country this practice was hardly conducive to strict discipline. Obviously such discipline as was originally observed quickly deteriorated after Mr. Duncan's departure.

Of the foundation-professors Ram Prasad Tarkalankar[141] (also styled as Tarka-Panchanan) enjoyed the reputation of a learned and conscientious scholar, but he was an octogenarian at the time of his appointment. Vireswar Pandit, Suba Sastri[142] and Jata-Sankar wanted that their pupils' stipends should be paid to them, a claim which the Committee was unable to uphold. According to Mr. Brooke, (who officiated as President of the Committee in 1804) Jata-Sankar's reputation for learning and his general respectability did not justify his appointment to the Rector's office.[143] In 1813 the new Rector[144] complained against Vireswar Pandit, Sivanath Pandit[145] and Jayaram Bhatta[146] for dereliction of duty. Kasinath's unfavourable reference to Sivanath Pandit's activities may not, therefore, have been altogether unmerited. In any case the position of the

140 Secret Cons. 4 Jan. 1799, No 8.

141 *Nicholls, op cit.* pp.4 and 7. He was the Professor of Nyayaśāstra. He retired in April 1813 at the age of 103 and was granted a pension of Rs 50 per month.

142 Professor of Mīmāṁsā. He was dismissed in 1799. (*Nicholls op cit,* p.14.) He may be identified with the Dravid scholar mentioned in p. 39.

143 *Ibid.* p. 10.

144 i.e. Pandit Ramananda. He was a native of Jaipur.

145 Professor of Religious duties. (*Nicholls op. cit.* p.7). Probably the same as Sivanath Tarkabhusan of the Sanskrit Memorandum drawn up by the 'Bengali' Pandits of Benares in 1787 (DOCUMENT 3 in the present collection).

146 Professor of *Yajurveda* (*Nicholls op. cit.* p.7). His name also appears among the signatories to the Sanskrit Address of 1796 (vide Note 128 *Supra*) as well as the Sanskrit Memorandum of 1787 (vide. DOCUMENT 2).

leader of such a team was far from enviable, and Kasinath's failure to run the college on proper lines might not have been due to his own delinquency alone though his stewardship of the college funds was by no means creditable. He has been accused of substantially reducing the original salaries of the professors, but with the limited funds at his disposal he could not possibly raise the number of professors from eight to twelve without a cut in their pay.

At least one statement of Kasinath has been fully corroborated by the Committee. He complained that the monthly grant of the College had been withheld by Captain Wilford since September 1799. The Committee in its letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government admits that the establishment of the College has been many months in arrears and as on the 30th May 1801, a bill was presented for the allowance of the entire year of 1800,[147] Kasinath's charges do not appear to be unduly exaggerated. It does not redound to the credit of the Committee that it should permit the professors' pay to fall in arrears for more than twelve months since its appointment in 1793.

Kasinath's removal from the Rector's office did not improve the administration or the general reputation of the college. His temporary successor Jata-Sankar was a man of indifferent ability, the Committee's supervision was neither efficient nor effective and the early history of the Sanskrit Pathsala does more credit to Jonathan Duncan's heart than to his discrimination.

(The petition)

Sir,

I beg to state that Mr. Wilford, in order to take possession of the *pathsala* withheld its *mushahara* from the begining of September 1799 and thought that the students not getting their *mushahara* would absent themselves (from attending the classes). Hearing this I tried my best to run the institution and to maintain the attendance as usual. One year after Siva Nath Pandit instigated the Pandits of my *pathsala* and one day in my absence he showed Mr. Hawkins[148] 68 students as absentees. Having

[147] Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801, No. 110, and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[148] F. Hawkins, Judge of Benares from 1800.

learnt this my students in a body presented an *aazi* before Mr Hawkins and Mr. Wilford saying that in fact they were present but they have been shown as absentees by the Pandits simply to turn them (the students) against me and to bring them under control, but their representations went unheeded. This fact is a well-known affair in Benares. I have already represented this fact to you for your consideration. Now on 28 April 1801, I received a *parwana* informing me that under instructions from you my *pathsala* has been closed and directing me to make over the books, furniture, etc., of the *pathsala* to Jaya (Jata) Sankar Pandit. I accordingly made over the articles to the aforesaid Pandit. If it is your wish to hand over the control of the *pathsala* to Mr. Wilford, I have nothing to say in the matter. I beg further to say that Mr. Charles Wilkins came to Benares in order to study the *Sastras*. He sent for many learned Pandits and requested them to teach him the subject. Some of them did not agree to take up the work while others failed to do it efficiently. Mr. Wilkins then summoned me for the purpose. By the grace of God I taught him the subject within a short time. With a view to disseminating the knowledge of the *Sastras* I spoke to Mr. Wilkins that since a Madrasa for teaching Persian was set up in Calcutta, it was but proper that a *pathsala* for teaching of the *Saastras* was established in Benares which is a holy place of the Hindus. Mr. Wilkins represented this matter to Mr. Warren Hastings who approved of the idea and desired me to see him at Calcutta. I thereupon made arrangements for my departure, but for want of a proper boat for the journey a little delay occurred with the result that Mr. Hastings sailed for England and the matter was held in abeyance. For a period of 10 years I had been busy heart and soul in trying to establish a *pathsala* for imparting education in the *Sastras*. On Mr. Jonathan Duncan's arrival at Benares I spoke to him also in the matter. He (Mr. Jonathan Duncan) represented the matter to you and with your approval set up a *pathsala* and put me in authority and control of it and issued order to the treasury of Benares to make regular payments for its expenses. I (in pursuance of the order) had been getting the *mushahara* monthly and distributing it to those who were

connected with the work of the *Sastras* here (at Benares). The honour that I am now enjoying had been bestowed on me by you and I hope that you will also maintain it in future. (Translated from Persian OR 349 of 1801).

Documents 15, 16 & 17.

The petitions of Nekaram Sarma and Kenaram Sarma tell the all too familiar story of educated men without employment. Nekaram obviously failed to pass the qualifying test and as is usual in such cases prayed for a fresh examination. Though he politely insinuated that he was a man of known merit and a personal acquaintance of Macnaghten,[149] the petition itself gives little evidence of his literary attainments.

The case of Kenaram, a Bengali Brahman, is slightly different. He had served as a Pandit under John Ryecroft Best, Deputy Registrar of Sadar Diwani Adalat,[150] but the death of his patron led to his loss of livelihood. These petitions are documents of some psychological interest though entirely devoid of historical value. How Macnaghten reacted to the importunities of these two indigent persons of priestly class we do not know.

The Story of a Theft (*Document* 24)

Agnihotrī Visvanath Dikshit's story of his loss near the city of Gaya while on a pilgrimage to that place and the indifference with which the local officers treated his complaints has nothing unusual about it. A Bania in charge of a market place was often in league with the local thieves and the rural police might also have an understanding with them. But the Pandit's

149 Sir William Hay Macnaghten (1793-1841). He was Registrar of the Sadar Diwani Adalat between 1822-30.

150 Best joined the service of the East India Company as a writer in 1818. He became Assistant in the office of the Registrar of Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1820, Deputy Registrar of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat in 1826, officiating Deputy Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs in 1827 and Acting Secretary to the Sadar Special Commission in 1828. He became Judge of Jessore on February 17, 1829. According to the *East India Register* he died on Dec. 22, of the same year. Dodwell and Miles give the date as Dec. 23. (*Bengal Civil Servants* p. 42-43).

demand that the village headman should be held responsible for recovering the stolen property, or in default, for compensating him for his loss may at first sound strangely antiquated. It was however broad based on the age old custom and the traditional law of the country.

Visvanath was one of the court Pandits[151] of Banni (or Vinaya) Singh, the third prince of the present ruling house of Alwar. As such he was doubtless familiar with the Dharma-Sastra literature. In his petition to the Governor-General he refers to the *Mitākshara* text which had the general support, so far as the particular point mooted by the Pandit was concerned, of Hindu lawgivers of other schools. Āpastamba, for instance, lay down that the village officers appointed by the King "must protect the country to the distance of one Krośa from each village. They must be made to repay what is stolen within these (boundaries)".[152] Kauṭilya also imposes a similar responsibility on the village headman[153]. The *Vishṇusaṁhitā* expected the King to recover goods stolen by thieves and to restore them entire to their owners irrespective of their caste.[154] Nārada enjoins that "he on whose ground a robbery has been committed must trace the thieves to the best of his power, or else he must make good what has been stolen, unless the foot marks can be traced from that ground (into another man's ground). When the foot marks after leaving the ground are lost and cannot be traced any further, the neighbours, inspectors of the road, and governors of that region shall be made responsible for the loss."[155]

Nor was the practice so unanimously recommended by ancient Hindu sages discontinued by the Muslim rulers of the land. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Kotwal was to discover the thieves

[151] Mr. S. C. Ghosal informs me that the name of Pandit Visvanath Dikshit Agnihotri occurs in the Urdu book "*Aqwal Banai Sing*" at page 66 and Pandit Visvanath is shown as one of the Court Paṇdits and Astrologers of Maharaja Vinaya Siṃha. No further information regarding the Pandit is available.

[152] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VII, p. 15.

[153] Shamashastri—*Kautilya's Arthasastra*, p. 148.

[154] *Secret Books of the East* Vol. VII, p. 20.

[155] *Ibid.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 225.

and the goods they stole or be responsible for the loss.[156] But in Sher Shah's time the village headman was held responsible for such acts of lawlessness as were committed within his jurisdiction. The Shah "strictly impressed on his *amils* and governors that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *muqaddams* of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good; but if the *muqaddams* produced the offenders or pointed out their haunts, the *muqaddams* of the village where the offenders were sheltered were to be compelled to give to those of the village where the crime occurred the amount of restitution they had paid."[157] We have the evidence of a famous traveller, Manucci that these regulations were actually in force when Shah Jahan occupied the imperial throne. Manucci writes of Shah Jahan that "if it chanced that thieves could not be caught, he forced the officials to pay", and goes on to relate that when the Dutch factory of Surat was robbed at night the emperor ordered that the Dutch should be indemnified from his treasury pending the payment to be made by the Governor (*Storia do Mogor* Vol. I, page 204). We learn from the same writer that during Aurangzeb's reign if any one was robbed within the jurisdiction of the Kotwal that officer had to make good the loss (*Storia do Mogor* Vol. II, page 421).

The Patil or the village headman under the Marathas was responsible for the discovery and restoration of all property stolen within his jurisdiction, failing which he had to indemnify the party robbed. Only when the thieves were traced to another village was he absolved from the responsibility which automatically devolved on the headman and the inhabitants of the village concerned. This practice survived in the Central Indian principalities till the middle of the nineteenth century.[158]

The Agnihotri's contention, therefore, had not only the support of most schools of Hindu legal thought but the sanction of the time-honoured practice of Hindu and Muslim sovereigns

156 Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 41,42.

157 *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* of Ábbas Khan Sarwání (Elliot and Dowson—*History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV p. 420).

158 Sen—*Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 508.

as well. When he appealed to the provisions of the *Mitākshara* he was not necessarily looking back to a long forgotten past, for the procedure he so confidently recommended for the Governor-General's adoption was still in vogue in some of the states he knew.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

Complimentary verses by Jadunath Pandit (Documents 13 and 22)

The first of these forms an illustration of *chitra kāvya*. The verses have been so arranged as to represent an umbrella one of the reputed insignia of sovereignty to which the Governor-General, according to popular estimation, was entitled. As only the year of receipt (1828) is known it is impossible to ascertain to which of the three Governor-Generals, Baron Amherst who relinquished office on the 10th March, W. B. Bayle, who officiated from the 13th March to the 4th July or Lord William Bentinck who took charge of the government on the 4th July, these verses were addressed. Nor do we know anything about the author—Jadunath Pandit.

The second document is also from the same pen and was probably addressed to Lord Ellenborough who was appointed Governor-General of India on the 8th October 1841 and reached Calcutta on the 28th February 1842. The verse may well have been composed on the occasion of the victory celebrations arranged by the Governor-General after the return of the British armies from Afghanistan and the enemies mentioned here were doubtless the Afghans.

Yasavantrao Holkar's Rupee (Document 10)

This transcript of the legend of Yasavantrao Holkar's new silver rupee was forwarded to the Political Department with a letter dated 12th February 1808 by the Resident at Delhi. The forwarding letter cannot be traced and the Resident's reason for taking so much interest in the new coin must remain a subject of conjecture. The coin was actually issued in 1728 Saka or 1806 A. D. From the numismatic point of view it marks an

important departure from the previous practice, for a Sanskrit legend replaced the usual Persian inscription on the Indore coins for the first time. In the coins of Ahalya Bai and her immediate successors the emperor of Delhi is mentioned by name, in the coin of 1806 however the name of the reigning emperor is omitted though in another coin issued a year later (No. 37, page 323 of Allan's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* Volume IV) we find the name of Muhammad Akbar Qiran Sani Sultan Sahib in Persian script.

That the Maratha princes should invoke the authority of the *rois faineants* of Delhi is no wonder. They had long reconciled themselves to the theory of Moghul suzerainty though in practice they paid but scant respect to the emperor. The tradition long survived the downfall of the Timurids and the Holkar Shahi coins continued to bear the name of the second Shah Alam as late as the reign of Tukoji Rao II (1844-1886). Similarly the Gwalior rupee bore the fragments of Akbar II legend till 1886.

The text of the legend as transmitted by the Resident of Delhi to Calcutta is not free from errors. It was probably an eye copy from an actual coin, and as the legend is seldom found in its entirety on such crude products of the Maratha mints, the copyist, who was probably innocent of Sanskrit, is not wholly to be blamed. श्रमराईत, मुद्रौषा and प्रथिवि are obviously misreadings of श्रमरायित, मुद्रेषा and पृथिवी. He also reads श्रुमंडले, प्रसादित्, and इके for भूमंडले, प्रसादात् and शके respectively. He also omits the letter न् in the last line of the reverse after लीकेरिम. Cunningham noticed this silver rupee in his *Coins of Medieval India*. A photo copy of the coin will be found in Allan's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (Volume IV, XXIII, 2). His reading also is not free from objection. He reads for 'श्रमरायित' 'श्रमराजत'. In the actual coin, as it appears from the photograph, the letter between रा and त is wanting. Neither our text nor Allan's reading of the legend represents the actual words as they appear on the coin. It is also permissible to suggest that Allan mistook the obverse for the reverse and *vice versa*. He probably thought the reference to the suzerain monarch should be found in the obverse but in Yasavantarao's time this had become an empty formality.

Lastly, one may reasonably ask why the Resident at Delhi should send information to the Government of India about a coin more than a year after its issue. Probably he did so at the request of the Calcutta authorities and news did not travel so quickly in those days.

Conclusion

While Persian documents in the Imperial Record Department count by thousands and each of the principal vernaculars of India is represented by hundreds of letters, memorials and petitions, we can present to the interested public no more than twenty five Sanskrit papers, big and small. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth Persian still held its place of honour in cultured society and the vernaculars were fast coming to their own. Sanskrit on the other hand remained the sacred language of the Hindus and its study was confined mostly to the priestly class and the students of Ayurveda. In the every day life of the common people it had no place. On special occasions a learned pandit is still commissioned to compose an epistle in Sanskrit and when erudite Brahmans from the far ends of the country meet to discuss a weighty problem of Philosophy or Jurisprudence Sanskrit still forms the medium of discourse. Learned commentaries on ancient texts are still written in the language of the gods and occasionally an original work may be written in Sanskrit even to-day though its appeal is extremely limited. The few archives we publish here eloquently testify to the vitality of the language that ceased to be spoken centuries ago.

S. N. Sen.

SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS
(TEXT)

1

RULING GIVEN BY BENARES PANDITS ON A QUESTION OF ADOPTION

(*OR* 7 Nov. 1778 No. 102)

॥ श्रीमत्काशीविश्वेश्वरो विजयतेतराम् ॥

॥ श्रीमद्रामचंद्रो विजयते रवीरक्षतु श्रीः ॥

॥ श्री. अपुत्रेण भ्रातुष्पुत्रसत्त्वेपि सवर्णो यथाविधि पुत्रः कर्त्तव्यः नापुत्रस्य
लोकोस्तीत्यलोकताश्रवणात्[1] अ-

॥ पुत्रेणैव कर्त्तव्यः पुत्रप्रतिनिधिः सदा. पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात्त-
स्मात्प्रयत्नत इत्यत्रिस्मरणाच्च[1] पुत्रप्रतिनि-

॥ धीनाहुः क्रियालोपान्मनीषिण[2] इतिमनुस्मरणाच्च. नन्वत्रिस्मृतावपुत्रेणै-
वेत्येवकारेण पुत्रवतोनधिकारोवो-

॥ धितः तथाच भ्रातुष्पुत्रसत्वे(त्त्वे) तु तस्य भ्रातृणामेकजातानामेक श्चेत्
पुत्रवान् भवेत्. सर्वांस्तांस्तेन पुत्रेण पुत्रिणो म-

॥ नुरब्रवीदिति[3] मनुवचनेन पुत्रवत्त्वबोधनात्तादृशस्य पुत्रीकरणे कथमधिकार
इतिचेद्धंत स्यात्तदाऽनधिकारो यदीदं मनुवचनं पुत्र-

॥ त्वप्रतिपादकं स्यात्तदेव तु न. अस्य तु मनुवचनस्य मिताक्षराकारहेमाद्रि-
मदनरत्नवीरमित्रोदयमयूखकारः प्रभृतिभि-

॥ र्निबंधकारै[4] र्भ्रातुष्पुत्रस्य पुत्रीकरणं प्रशस्तं पितृवत्पितृव्यश्राद्धाधिकारित्वं
चेत्येतत्प्रतिपादकतया व्याख्यातत्वात्

॥ अपुत्रीकृतस्यापि भ्रातृव्यस्य पुत्रत्वेऽपुत्रदायाधिकारे पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव
पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा. तत्सुता इति पंचम-

॥ स्थाने तस्य योगियाज्ञवल्क्य[5](*sic*)कृतपरिगणनविरोधापत्तेश्च यत्तु
अपुत्रस्य पितृव्यस्य तत्पुत्रो भ्रातृव्यो भवेत् स ए-

॥ वं तस्य कुर्वीत पिण्डदानोदकक्रियामितिवृद्धपराशरवचनं[6] तद्भ्रातृव्येण
पितृवत्पितृव्यपार्वणश्राद्धम-

|| वश्यकर्त्तव्यमित्येवं परं न तु पुत्रत्वप्रतिपादकं. पराशरेणैव[7] तदग्रे पार्वणं
तेन कार्यं स्यात् पुत्रवद्भ्रातृजे-

|| न तु. पितृस्थाने तुतं कृत्वा शेषौ पूर्ववदुच्चरेदित्यभिधानात्. तस्माद्भ्रा-
तुष्पुत्रस्य पुत्रीकरणमंतरेण

|| पुत्रत्वासंभवात्तादृशेन पुत्रवत्वाभावात्पुत्रप्रतिनिधि: कर्त्तव्यएवेतिसिद्धम्.
तच्च पुत्रीकरणमापत्कालस्य

|| जनकप्रतिग्रहीतृपरस्परानुकूल्यस्यच सत्त्वे देयनिष्ठज्येष्ठत्वदातृनिष्ठैक-
पुत्रत्वद्विपुत्रत्वादीनामभावे

|| च भ्रातुष्पुत्रादे: सपिण्डस्य भवति उक्तनिमित्त(त्त)वैपरीत्ये तु न भवति.
तस्य मिताक्षरादिसकलनिबंधेषु प्रति-

|| षिद्धत्वात्. तथाहि मिताक्षरायां यथाह मनु: माता पिता वा दद्यातां यमद्भि:
पुत्रमापदि सदृशं प्रीतिसंयुक्तं स ज्ञे-

|| यो दत्रिम: सुत इति[8]. आपद्ग्रहणाद् नापदि न देय:[9]. प्रीतिग्रहणं
लोभभयादिप्रतिषेधार्थं तेन परस्परानुकूल्या-

|| भावे न देय:. तथा एक: पुत्रो न देय: नत्वेकं पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वेति
वसिष्ठस्मरणात्. [10] नैकपुत्रेण कर्त्तव्यं पु-

|| त्रदानं कदाचन. बहुपुत्रेण कर्त्तव्यं पुत्रदानं प्रयत्नत इति शौनकस्मरणाच्च.[11]
तथाद्विपुत्रेणापि न देयं उक्तशौनकवा-

|| क्येनैकपुत्रेणेतिनिषेधात् द्विपुत्रस्यैवदानप्राप्तौ बहुपुत्रेणेत्युक्तिसामर्थ्येन
द्विपुत्रस्यापिदानप्रतिषेधात्. एक-

|| पुत्रोह्यपुत्रोनुमत: कौरवनंदन. एकंचक्षुर्यथाऽचक्षुर्नाशे तस्यांध एव
हीत्यादिभीष्मं प्रति शंतनूक्तेश्च [12] त-

| थानेकपुत्रसद्भावेपि ज्येष्ठो न देय:. ज्येष्ठेन जातमात्रेण पुत्री भवति
मानव इति[13] तस्यैव पुत्रकार्यकरणे मुख्य-

|| त्वादिति. एवंचोक्तनिमित्ताभावेन भ्रातुष्पुत्रस्य पुत्रीकरणासंभवे ब्राह्मणानां
सपिंडेषु कर्त्तव्य: पुत्रसंग्रह:

|| तदभावेऽसपिंडो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेदिति[13a] शौनकवचनादन्यस्यापि
पुत्रीकरणं भवतीति सिद्धम्. तथा

।। चारसातिरिक्तपुत्राणां मध्ये कलौ दत्तकस्यैव व्यवस्थापितत्वात
पिण्डदत्वमंशहरत्वं च तस्यैव सिध्यतीति ।। शिवम्

(1st Column)

सम्मतोयमर्थो धर्माधिकारिनंदपण्डितानाम् (1)[14]
सम्मतोयमर्थो भारद्वाजभाईरामभट्टस्य (2)
सम्मतोयमर्थो जस्योपनाम्नो गङ्गारामस्य (3)[15]
सम्मतोयमर्थो वेणीमाधवपाठकस्य (4)
सम्मतोयं शास्त्रार्थः कृपानाथदेवस्य (5)
सम्मतोयमर्थो गह्वगोपनामकवीरेश्वरस्य (6)
अप्पाशास्त्रिसम्मतोयमर्थः (7)
सम्मतोयमर्थोठोबलोपाख्यवैजनाथभट्टस्य (8)[16]
संमतोयमर्थो दीनानाथदेवस्य (9)[17]
संमतोयमर्थो गुणेश्वरभट्ट (1?)नां (10)[18]
संमतोयमर्थो ठाकरोपनामक
भवानीशङ्करस्य (11)[19]
संमतोयमर्थः कृपाकृष्णयाज्ञिकानाम् (12)[20]
संमतोयमर्थोर्धर्मणोपनामक राजारामस्य (13)[21]
संमतोयमर्थो रंगनाथशास्त्रिण: (14)
संमतोयमर्थो जगन्नाथमिश्रस्य (15)[22]
संमतोयमर्थः पुण्यस्तंभकरोपाख्यगोविन्दस्य (16)[23]
संमतोयमर्थः पौराणिकोपाख्य आत्मारामभटस्य (17)[24]

(2nd Column)

संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपाख्य अनंतरा-
मभट्टानाम् (18)[25]
संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपाख्यवृजनाथ-
भट्टस्य (19)

संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपाख्य दा[दम] भट्ट-[26]
स्य(20)
संमतोयं निर्णय: मेघनाथदेवस्य[27] (21)
संमतोयमर्थ: शेषहरीरामस्य[28] (22)
शेषोपनामक गोविंदराम[29]
पंडितस्य संमतोयमर्थ: (23)
संमतोयं निर्णय: भट्टोपाह्व नीलकंठशर्मण:[30] (24)
संमन्यतेमुमर्थं नानापाठक:[31] (25)
संमतोयमर्थो भरद्वाजसीतारामभट्टस्य[32] (26)
संमतोयमर्थो दशपुत्रोपाख्यरामचंद्रपंडितस्य (27)
संमतोयमर्थो भैरवदीक्षिततिलका-[35]
नाम् (28)
संमतोयमर्थो गडेगिलभीष्मभट्टस्य[34] (29)
संमतोयमर्थो रंगनाथदीक्षितस्य (30)
संमतोयमर्थो द्रोणोपनामक वैजनाथदी-
क्षितस्य (31)

2

BENARES PANDITS' MEMORANDUM ON WARREN HASTINGS

(*OR* 31 July 1788 No. 433)

[P. 3]

युगकृतधृति[1] १८४४ तुल्ये विक्रमादब्दवृंदेगतवति नवपू-
र्णात्यष्टि[2] १७०९ संख्ये शकाख्ये । अधिगुहतिथि[3] ६ शुक्ले
कार्त्तिके शुक्रवारे कृतमिदमिह पत्र काशिकाख्यातलो-
कै : वयं जना वाराणसीवासिन: प्रवासिनश्चात्र सं-
प्राप्ता याथातथ्येन ब्रूम: गवर्नरजनरल् वारन् हिष्टिंस[4]-
साहेबाख्यविभुवरकृपासंभारशिष्टाचारकलितकतिप-
यकारणै: संतुष्टा हृष्टाश्च वर्त्तामह इति ॥ तेषु च कारणेषु
॥ स निखिलदेशीयचातुर्वर्ण्यमहत्तीर्थरूपाया : श्रीवि-
श्वेश्वरनगर्या वसतिस्वास्थ्यनिरूपणेय(*sic*)लंकृतवानिति
प्रथमम् ससुखं समानं चास्मान्स्वराज्ये स्थापितवानि-
ति द्वितीयम् यात्रिणश्च गङ्गापुत्र[5]महोपद्रवभियाल्प-
तरा अत्रागछ(च्छ)न्तिस्म तदुपद्रवानुपशमितवानित्यभूतपू-
र्वस्वकार्यसौकर्यं विचार्य निरस्तसमस्तसाध्वसा: सकलज
नपदयात्रिण: स्फिरा: सांप्रतं सुखं समायान्तीति तृतीयं[6]

[P. 4]

वाराणस्यास्संरक्षणाय न्यायनिर्णयाय च सुज्ञन्यायवि-
न्निर्लोभं नवाब अलीइब्राहीमखानं[7] शास्तारं प्रतिष्ठापितवा-
न् चातुर्वर्ण्यविवादविवेचनाय वरीयांसो द्विजविद्वांसस्त-
दितरतन्निर्णयाय च यवनास्ते तिष्ठेयुरिति देशस्थसमस्त-
जनानुरंजनसुखाकरणदृढतरनियोगगर्भमाज्ञापत्रं[8]
तस्मायर्पितवान् स च शास्ता सर्वेषामधिकारिणामुत्को-
चदण्डाद्युपादानप्रतिषेधेन राजबलवंड(*sic*)सिंह[9] चेतसिंह-
राज्यादधिकतरं प्रजा: सुखयतीति चतुर्थं पुनश्चात्र स-

मागतः[10] पीनयशा गवर्नरमिस्तरहिष्टीनोत्रत्यशिष्टजन-
समागमसमयेसाधुमधुरासंलापापारकृपासाराचाराचर-
णैर्यथायथसर्वसम्मानविधानप्रतिपालनपरैर्बहिरन्तः-
करणैः सर्वजनमनस्तोषयतिस्मेतिपंचमम् अस्म-
ज्जनामन्दानन्दसम्पादनायसर्वतीर्थशिरोमणिश्रीमद्वि-
श्वेश्वरमन्दिरद्वारि स्ववसुव्ययेनविशालवादित्रायतनं का-
रितवानिति षष्ठम् प्रजापालनपरिपाद्यपरित्यागे-
न सर्वथा लोभदृष्ट्यसृष्ट्या कदापि कस्यचिदपि हानिं ने-
हितवानिति सप्तमम् इत्थंमिस्तरहिष्टिसजलाद-[11]
ज्जंगसुनीतिप्रीतिरीतय (यो) ऋतोदिताः पादसाहकंपनी-
यशांसि शारदेन्दुवन्निखिलाशा व्याप्यन्त्यो (*sic*) हिंदोस्ताने-
तिप्रतीतविततनीवृत्सु जाग्रतीति वयं समे सुखिता अा-
कम्पानुकम्पानिधिपादशाहकम्पनी प्राज्यसौराज्यसा-
म्राज्यसमृद्धिमधिकतरमाशास्महे इति शिवम् ॥

Names of Signatories

[Page 5]

نیلکنٹھ بھٹ	بیریشور شیش	اتمارام کالے
بالم بھٹ کاوے	بھیروں دیچھت	میگھ ناتھ دیو
شمبھو دیو دیو	جے رام بھٹ	جگن ناتھ بھٹ شوکل
بیجناتھ بھٹ کوے منڈن	جگن ناتھ مصر	گنگارام کاربیل
رام چندر بھٹ کوٹ کر	اتمارام پورانک	بھٹ گنگارام جرڑی
سومناتھ بھٹ پوینا گر	بھو دیو مصر	بھیروں دیچھت
بالم بھٹ بھاردواج	گونیشور بھٹ	بابا دیچھت
بالکشن دیچھت مہاجن	دادم بھٹ	کشن بھٹ ارڑی
سکھارام بھٹ	جگیشور بھٹ	ہری کشن دیچھت
بابو دیچھت ایاچک	رام کشن تپساٹی	اودے شنکر پنڈت
اننا شاستری	شداشیو بھٹ	بالمکند بھٹ کھوے
بالکشن دیچھت	سیتارام بھٹ پورانک	پنڈت نانا پاٹھک
بالکشن کاڑی کل	منی رام بھٹ سدا برتی	بیجناتھ بھٹ ناگ راج
پریم شنکر	اننت رام بھٹ لچھی دھر	شنبھوجی دیچھت

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اودے کشن تیواری	لچھمی دہر دیکچت	لچھمن بیاس
بلبھہ جی	شیو دولبھ جی گوپال جی	سجے کشن پاٹھک
انند رام اننت رام	میاناتھ پنڈا	سدا کشن جانی
پنڈا انند رام	مکند رام شوکل	کلیان جی دکھت
مول ناتھ رودر جی	دوبے کیول کشن	شیو پران جیون
تیواری بشن دیو	بنواری کانہہ دیو	بادن کشن
دوبے گنپت جی	دوبے بشنو رام	سورج کشن
تیواری کشن بلبھ	بورا گنگا رام	بورا بشنو رام
پنڈیا کلیان جی	تیواری موتی لعل	دوبے کانہہ جی
انند رام شوکل	رام دت	کیول کشن دکھت
دینا ناتھ	رام کشن بھٹ کھوٹے	اننت رام بھٹ
مہیدھر دہرم ادہکاری	بال مکند ارڑی	ہری بھٹ دھوبیلے
واسدیو بھٹ گورجر	شیو رام بھٹ کنوشے	جگن ناتھ دہرم ادہکاری

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اننت رام ببلے پٹ وردھن	بنایک بھٹ مونے	کرپا کرشن جالک
شیو لال پاٹھک	لچھمن بھٹ	برو پاجہ شاستری
بھوانی شنکر ٹھاکر	جگیشور شاستری	میگھاپت جوشی

گنیش بہٹ شاٹک پاٹے	شیو بھدر پاٹھک	سورج رام جانی
ارت رام دولبھ رام	گوبند رام شیودت	بینی رام بورا
نرسی جی موریشور	موہن لال مرلی دھر	دوبے چرنجیوا چھا شنکر
دیواکرن نجت رام	گوری شنکر واراچند	ناہنا پرمیشور
کملاکرن اچلیشور	دوبے بیناتھ رام	رامیشور بکرن
کاشی رام رتنیشور	رتی رام سنموکھ رام	ہدیا دھرا دوبے کرن
دوبے عزت رام لجارام	سوداریشور عزت رام	دیادھر دینا ناتھ
دیاناتھ بشنو	گوتھا ساتویک کرشن دیال	ورادھر منگلیشور
دیواداس	جتنیشور	انبا شنکر بجے شنکر
لالادھر روپ رام	کاشی رام	کاشی رام شیو شنکر
جانی ریوادت بہاری لعل	سورج رام منسا رام	نانا موکھا
گوبند رام نیر نبکیشور	ایشور جی لکھو جی	جانی انند رام سارتھ راہ
جوکت رام عزت رام	موکیشور	رشک لعل برج لعل

[Page 8]

دیانند کرناکرن	رام دت سرنبکیشور	سنموکھ رام اوتم رام
درگاشنکر دیارام	بیجے رام چاسن رام	بال موکند شنکر بلبھ
چندریشور	ہیراکرن موتی کرن	بشنو ناتھ چھا گوپی ناتھ

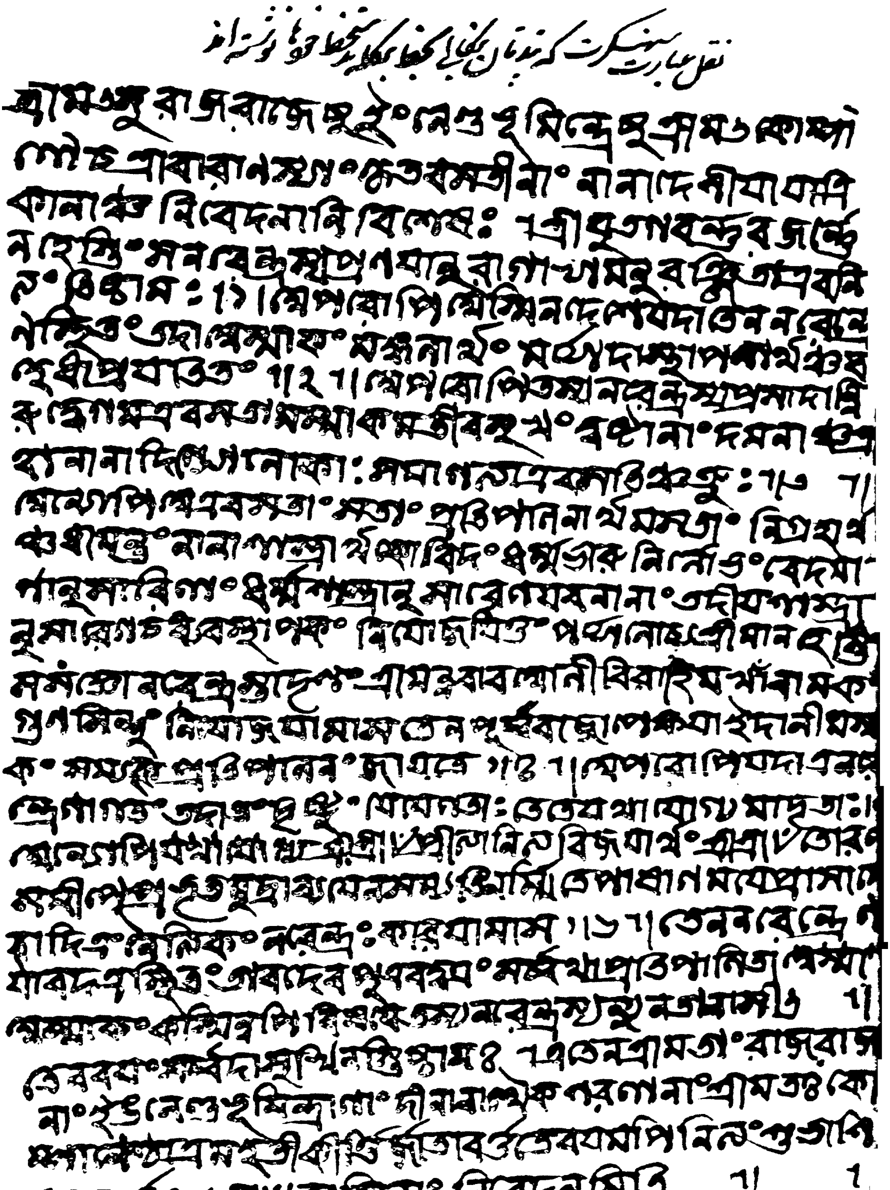
جتیشور لچھمی الیشور	پریم شنکر	مہنت گوپال کشن
انبارام بیاس	کرشن جی جوشی	رام چندر بیاس
بنواری بشونبھر	دوبے سورج جی	تیواری رتن جی
تیواری انبارام	گنپت جوشی	جدوپت جوشی
پنڈیا مہادیو	بدیادھر بید	راجارام کیول رام
دیودت بھٹ	بدیانند جوشی	بیرلیشور
میٹھارام بھٹ	اوجھا رام کشن	تیواری بیجناتھ
دوبے چتربھوج	دوبے دیورام	اوجھا رادھے کرشن
انباشنکر جانی	انندرام بیاس	منسارام
رگھوناتھ گوپال	دیکچھت گوپال جی	دیکچھت ہری کشن
سورج دت شوکل	جیون رام دوبے	کرشن دیو دیکچھت

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گوپال دیو	چترلیشور بھٹ	پربھو دیو بیاس
شیوشنکر دیکچھت	نارائن دیو	کرپاشنکر دیکچھت
گوکل ناتھ دیکچھت۔		

بریں محضر یکصد و ہفتاد و ہشت دستخط است

C



3. Bengali Pandits of Benares on Warren Hastings, 31 July, 1788.

BENGALI PANDITS OF BENARES ON WARREN HASTINGS

(*OR* 31 July 1788 No. 434)

[Page 1]

श्रीमत्सु राजराजेषु इंलेगडभूमि(मी)न्द्रेषु श्रीमत्कोम्पा-
णी च श्रीवाराणस्यां कृतवसतीनां नानादेशीया(य)यात्रि-
काना(णा)ञ्च निवेदनानि विशेषः । श्रीयुत(क्त)गवन्नरजन्नँ-
लहेस्तिंसनरेन्द्रस्य प्रणयानुरागा(ग)समनुरञ्जिता एव नि-
त्यं तिष्ठामः ।१। अपरोपि अस्मिन् देशे यदा तेन नरेन्द्रे-
ण स्थितं तदा अस्माकं मङ्गलार्थं मर्यादस्थापनार्थञ्च व-
हुधा प्रयतितं ॥२॥ अपरोपि तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य प्रसादान्नि-
रुद्वेगमत्रवसतामस्माकमतीवसुखं दुष्टानां दमनाश्च(नञ्च) श्रु-
त्वा नानादिग्भ्यो लोकाः समागत्यात्र वसतिञ्चक्रुः ॥३॥
अन्योपि अत्रवसतां सतां प्रतिपालनार्थमसतां निग्रहार्थ-
ञ्च धीमन्तं नानाशास्त्रार्थकोविदं धर्म्मभीरु-निर्लोभं वेदप-
थानुसारिणां धर्म्मशास्त्रानुसारेण यवनानां तदीयशास्त्रा-
नुसारेण च व्यवस्थापकं नियोजयितुं (*sic*) पर्य्यालोच्य श्रीमान्
हेस्तिं-

ससंज्ञो नरेन्द्रस्तादृशं श्रीमन्नवावआलीविराहिमखाँनामकं
गुणसिन्धुं नियोजयामास तेन पूर्व्वराजापेक्षया इदानीमस्मा-
कं सम्यक्प्रतिपालनं जायते ॥४॥ अपरोपि यदत्र नरे-
न्द्रेणागतं तदा तं द्रष्टुं ये ये गताः ते ते यथायोग्यमादृताः ॥५॥
अन्योपि यथायोग्यश्रीश्री ँ प्रीत्या नित्यविजयार्थं श्रीश्री ँ तोरण-
समीपे प्रभूतमुद्राव्ययेन सम्यङ् निर्म्मिते पाषाणमये प्रासादे
वादित्रं नैत्यिकं नरेन्द्रः कारयामास ॥६॥ तेन नरेन्द्रेण
यावदत्र स्थितं तावदेव पुत्रवद्वयं सर्व्वथा प्रतिपालिता अस्मा-(*sic*)
अस्माकं कस्मिन्नपि विषये तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य न्युनता नासीत् ॥
तेन वयं सर्व्वदा सुखिनस्तिष्ठामः । एतेन श्रीमतां राजराजा-
नां इङ्लेगडभूमि(मी)न्द्राणां दीनानाथैकशरणानां श्रीमतः को-

म्पानेश्चात्र महती कीर्त्तिर्जाता वर्त्तते वयमपि नित्यं शुभाशि-
षः कुर्म्मः । श्री॑ वासिनां निवेदनमिति ॥ ॥

[Page 3]

Seal of Qazi Naqi Ali Khan, 1201

(Here follows the Persian translation of the Sanskrit text)

Names of Signatories

[Page 5]

کرپا رام ترک سدہانت	گوبند رام نیائے پنچانن
رام رام سدہنت	کاشی رام چیٹجیا
پران کشن شرما	شیام بدیا باگیش
کشن منگل شرما	کشن چند سار بہوم
جگل کشور نند او پدھیا	کشن چندر ککچیا
رام لوچن ککچیا	دلال نیائی لنکار
بلرام باس پتی	سدا نند ترک باگیس
شیو ناتھ ترک بوس	انند چند بٹیا چارج
رام چرن بدیا باگیس	کاشی ناتھ میتھل
گنگا رام پنچانن	رام پرشاد نند اُو پدھیا
رام سندر رائے	بکلیسر پنچانن
کالی پرشاد بٹیا چارج	گنگا دھر بدیا باگیس
کشنا نند بدیا لنکار	رام چرن چکر بتی
ہری دیو ترک باوس	رام چندر بدیا لنکار

رام رام بخشی	برام بہٹا چارج
رودر رام سرکار	بھوانی چرن سرکار
رام شنکر نند اوپدھیا	چندر شنکر بدیا باگیس
شیو پرشاد ساپت	کالی پرشاد سدھانت
شیو نراین نند اوپدھیا	درپ ناراین بہٹا چارج
گوکل کشن بدیا النکار	رامان کنتھ بدیا النکار
رام ناتھ شرما	چنڈی چرن شرما
لکھن بدیا باگیس	رامان کنتھ بدیا النکار
گنگا رام پنچال	لکھی نارابن شرما
کشنانند سار بھوم	کپیلا رام شرما
تلوک چندر گنگولی	رام رام شرما
رام جی گنگولی	کالی پرشاد شرما
جگموہن لکچیا	سوبھا ناتھہ شرما
رام داس شرما	کشنا رام سار بھوم
جے کشن شرما	جے شنکر شرما
پرمانند گنگولی	نینانند شرما

[Page 6]

سنبھو ناتھ نند اوپدھیا

بھوانی شنکر شرما

رام سنتوس چٹجیا

رام رام سدہنت

مانک چند شرما

رام موہن بٹنا چارج

بجے دیب شرما

کاشی ناتھ شرما

گوپال شنکر پنچانن

کشن دیو چٹجیا

بشن ناتھ گوس

کالی پرشاد سرکار

سنتو سنگھ

رام سندر سائیں

پران کشن پالتھ

رام شنکر بوس

رام ندھی داس

بجے نراین گھوسال

گنگا ہری نند اوپدھیا

بشناتھ چٹجیا

جگرناتھ راے

گنگا دہر بدیا باگیس

رام بھدر نیائی لنکار

جگرناتھ شرما

دیب نراین شرما

لکھی نرائین نیائی باگیس

جگل موہن شرما

رگھو ناتھ پالتھ

بھیرو چرن سیل

رام نراین سیل

رام موہن پالتھ

کشن موہن داس

رام ہری داس

ہری چرن ملک

برج کشور گهوس	کالی پرشاد شرما
کالی شنکر شرما	کالی پرشاد شرما
کیول رام بہٹا چارج	پران ناتھ ٹھاکر
رام چرن بنوجیا	نیلمنی ٹھاکر
جیتن چرن ٹھاکر	ہری کشن بید
بشنو شنکر دیچیت	منو دیچیت
رام ناتھ دیچیت	بشنو ناتھ مشر
بید ناتھ	ناراین مشر
اوسان مشر	کالی داس سدھانت

برین محضر یکصد و دوآزده دستخط است

4

LETTER FROM BAHUJI MAHARANI TO LORD CORNWALLIS

(OR 2 March 1791 No. 56)

श्रीहरिः

श्रीजगदीशो जयति

॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमन्तगोस्वामि-
॥ नी श्रीमहाराज्ञीनां प्रौढोदग्रप्रतापतपनात-
॥ पतापितारिदारवदनेषु गवरनर लार्ड कां-[1]
॥ नवालीशबाहादुरेषु शुभाशिषः समुल्लसं-
॥ तु वृत्तांतं (तः) च श्रीमद्यशःकुसुमवाटिकालो-
॥ चनमुदितजगदीशकृतबहलप्रसन्नता-
॥ वर्षणभृतमकरंदनिभृतास्मन्मानसमति-
॥ प्रसन्नमभवत्ततो दूरे वर्त्तमाना अपि गुणिनो
॥ निकटस्थिता इव सकलचेतसि परमानंदं ज-
॥ नयंति किंच लौकिकप्रेमवद्भिरपि परस्परं पत्रिका-
॥ लेखः क्री(क्रि)यते सुरक्षणपोषितनिखिलजनधर्म-
॥ तरुभिर्भवद्भि(द्भिः) निखिललोकशुभसमुत्सुकास्मा-
॥ स्वलौकिकसौहार्दवस्तु च कती(ति) स्वमुद्रांकितानि
॥ परंपरात आगतवंति पत्राणि न सामीर्य(र्यं)त[2] इत्याश्च-
॥ र्यं भवति यतः सुमनसः स्वमूले वर्त्तमानं सौरभं बहुली-
॥ कुर्वंति तस्मादिदानिं स्वकोशल्यसूचकवर्ण-

[Written on the right margin]

मंडितयथापरम्परापत्रप्रेषणेनास्मन्मनसि सदा संतोषो विधेय इतो विशेषः लालामयारामपत्राद्ज्ञेय इत्यलम् ।

(On the cover)

॥ गवरनरलार्ड कानवालीशबाहादुरकरकि(की) ॥
लितमस्त्विदं पत्रम्

Seal

श्रीबालकृष्णो
जयति श्रीमहा-
राणी वहुजीका-[3]
या इयं मुद्रास्ति

5

PETITION OF KANHARDAS TO SIR JOHN SHORE

(*OR* 15 November 1796 No. 456)

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमंडलमंडनविद्वज्जनमं[ड]ली-विराजमानसर्वजन-हृदयाह्लादकप्रख्यापितकीर्त्तितरंगिणीधवलीकृताशेषदिगंतरालेषु श्रीमत्सदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितपरमोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्ठ्यलंकारेषु परमसद्बुद्धिविस्तारविस्तारितालौकिकपराक्रमाक्रामितानेक-वलवद्धराधीशमौलिलसन्मुकुट[म]णिविस्फुरत्कांतिकनकमयकोशदानातिशयमहोदारशुभगुणगणागारधर्मभारेषु प्रवलतर हयगजरथ-पदातिप्रतापविध्वंसितप्रचंडाकांडप्रोद्दंडारातिचयचमूलब्धयशआधारेषु निखिलमुखसमाजविराजमानामात्याद्युपहारीकृतकनकमय-नागाश्वशिविकादिशुभायितद्वारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीसर्जनसोरसाहवेषु कंन्हरदासस्याशिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम् शमस्त्यत्र दयासिंधो श्रैम-

तं तदहर्निशं आशासेस्व: सरित्पाथो वगाहादित्तणेष्वहंम्[1] १ प्रजासंरक्षणे दक्षं विदुषामेकमाश्रयं नयज्ञं निर्जरा: सर्वे रक्षंतु त्वां समर्चिता: २

याभूद्राजपरंपरा नरपतिश्रीविक्रमार्कात्प्रभृत्यद्यावध्यवनीपुरंदर वयं कुत्रापि नैतादृशीं नीतिं शुश्रुम यादृशी निरुपमा निर्व्याजनि-लोंभतारूपा

त्वय्यवलोक्यतेखिलजनानंदैककंद: प्रभो[2] ३ प्रसरदतुलकीर्त्ति: कामना-कामकुंभ: द्विषदिभकुलसिंह: सर्जन: सोरभूप: क्षितिपरिवृट् चूडारत्ननीराजितांघ्रिर्गुणिनयनचकोरानन्दथुग्लौसमान:[3] ४ जयतु जयिज-नानामग्रणीरग्रणीषु प्रवलपरकुकूल: कीरतुंडाभपार्ष्णि: परमनिय-तिपूर्ण: प्रीणितप्रार्थिपूग:सकलमहिधराणांमौलिमालायमान: ५ अथ

स्त्रोदंतो मया साक्षादेव श्रीमति निवेद्यते तद्यथा निवेशमनस्माकं गुवालि-
यराख्ये नगरे अभिधानं च कंन्हरदास इति वयश्च षड्विंशतिवार्षिकं श्रीवाराणस्यां दारानगरे वृद्धकालेश्वरसंनिधौ राज्ञश्वेतसिंहमातुः[4] सद्गुरुः श्रीमानकु-
मारीति तस्या गृह इदानीं निवसामि वर्षत्रयं स्वसद्ने चतुरसंवत्सरान् सिहुंडाख्ये[5] नगरे नववर्षाणिच वाराणस्यांमहता प्रयासेनाहर्दिवं शास्त्रमधीत्य
स्थितमिदानीं नयनयोः कश्चिद्व्याधिराविरासीत् यद्वशादऽग्रेऽधीतमपि शास्त्रमवलोकितुं न शक्नोम्यग्रे चाध्येतुं घटिकार्द्धं लेखने घटीमात्रं च
पठने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं निःसरति शिरसि च वेदनोत्पद्यते यथासाभार्थ्ये चिकित्सा मया कारिता सांप्रतं तु चिकित्सां कारयितुं न शक्नुमोऽकिंचनत्वात् ततो
महती चिंता जायते यदग्रे मम किं भविष्यसि(ति) कोवा मां पालयिष्य-तीति शास्त्रे इत्थमुपलभ्यते यत्पंडितं दीनं दुःखिनं च राजा पालयतीति उक्तं च श्रीमद्भाग-
वते एषो राज्ञां परो धर्मो ह्यार्तानामार्तिनिग्रह इति एतद्धर्मवतां फलं तु दशमस्कंधे उत्तरार्द्धे भगवता कृष्णेन स्वयमुक्तं हरिश्चंद्रोरं-तिदेवउंछवृत्तिः शिविर्वलिः
व्याधः कपोतो वहवो ह्यध्रुवेण ध्रुवं गता इति अस्येयं व्याख्या चक्रवर्त्तीहरिश्चांद्रो(*sic*)ऽर्थिनोर्थसंपादनाय भार्यात्मजादिसर्वं विक्रीय स्वयं चांडालदासतां
प्राप्तोप्यनिर्विण्णः सहायोध्यावासिभिर्जनैः स्वर्गगतः[6] राजा रंतिदेवसकुटुं-वोष्टचत्वारिंशदहान्यलब्धोदकोपि कथंचिल्लब्धान्नोदकाद्यर्थिभ्यो दत्वा-
ब्रह्मलोकं गतः[7] उंछवृत्तिर्मुद्गलः षण्मासं सीदत्कुटुंवोप्यातिथ्यदानेन ब्रह्मलोकं गतः[8] उशीनरदेशाधिपतिः शिविः शरणागतकपोतर-क्षणाय स्वमांसं श्येनाय
दत्वा दिवं गतः[9] स्वर्गमभिव्याप्य सार्वभौमो वलिः[10] सर्वस्वं ब्राह्मण-

वेषधारिणे हरये दत्वा तमेवात्मसाच्चकार कपोतश्चातिथये व्याधाय
कपोत्या सहात्ममांसं
दत्वा विमानेन दिवं गतः[11] एवमन्ये च वहवोऽध्रुवेण शरीरेण ध्रुवं
लोकं गता इत्यलं किंतु तादृशः पृथ्वीपालक इदानीं दुर्लभतरो यो
दीनानाथेषु दयां

[Page 2]

कुर्यात् श्रीमतात्वत्रत्यजनतामहाजनपंडितदीनदुःखिप्रभृतिः सर्वापि
संतोषिता सती प्रतिवीथि प्रतिद्वारं प्रतिगृहं स्वर्गतरंगिणीरोधसि
च श्रैमतं यशो

गायति यत्स्वराट्श्रीसर्जनसोरसाहवः कंपनीगृहे साक्षाद्धममूर्त्तिधरो
दाता शरण्यश्च अतो महाराज वाराणस्यां कंचित्साहवं प्रतीत्थं
लिखितुमर्हथ यन्म-

मम भोजनाच्छादनयोः परामर्शं कुर्यात् नेत्रयोश्च चिकित्सां कारयेत् ततो
निवृत्ते नेत्ररोगे पंचसंवत्सरं(रम)ध्ये शास्त्रं परिसमाप्य यत्र
यत्र गमिष्य(ष्या)मि तत्र तत्र श्रीम-

ते आशिषः प्रयोक्ष्यामि कीर्त्तिं च गास्यामि अथ कदाचिन्न रोगनिवृत्ति-
स्तर्हि यावज्जीवं काश्यां निवसन् श्रीमतः शुभं चिंतयिष्यामि
यद्यपि श्रीमन्महाराज

केनो(ना)पि द्वारेण श्रीमता सहास्माकं परिचितिर्नास्ति तथापि
श्रैमतीं दीनदयालुतां श्रुत्वार्जवपत्रं [लि]खितं यद्भवान्सर्वथास्मान्
दयिष्यत इत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेष्विति

यशः श्रीमन्महाराज विपुलं तव विद्यते सकलं ले(लि)खितुं कोपि
शक्नुयादुदरंभरिः

Benares 8th November 1796

6

PETITION OF KANHARDAS TO SIR JOHN SHORE

(OR 30th May 1797 No. 296)

॥श्रीः॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमण्डलमण्डनविहितदिग्विजयवादीन्द्रवृन्दमर्द्दनवि-
द्वज्जनकमलकुलप्रकाशनमार्त्तण्डमूर्त्तिषु सदा-
चाराचरणपरिलब्धगरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठावशीकृतसज्जनगणगीयमानयशश्चन्द्रकरधव-
लीकृतजगत्त्रितयेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीस्वराट् सर्जन
सोरसाह्वेषु कंन्हरदासस्याशिषां राशयः समुल्लसन्तुतराम् प्रत्यर्थिक्षिति-
पालवालवनितासीमन्तसिन्दुरिकालुण्टाक प्रकटप्रता-
पतपनप्रोद्भासिताशामुखः सर्व्वाङ्गैरुचिरश्चिराय जयतात् सद्भूपचूडा-
मणिः शीलौदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयः श्रीसर्जनः सोरराट् १[1]
अतुलितगुणराशिख्यातनामप्रवर्हः प्रतिदिवसवितीर्णप्रीणितप्राणिपूगः
विशदतरयशोब्जाभीशुभिर्धौतविश्वो नयगुणजितवे-[2]
णुर्वेणुगीतावदातः[3] २ उदन्तस्तु महाराज यन्मयार्जवपत्रिका प्रेषिता
कार्त्तिकसुदि अष्टम्यां श्रीमदंतिके[4] १ तां विलोक्य प्रजानाथ श्री-
मता करुणावता श्रीकाश्यां प्रेषितं पत्रं मद्वृत्तिज्ञप्तिहेतवे २ काशीस्थाः
पण्डिताः श्रीमत्पाठशालाधिकारिणः तेषां समीपे निखिला मद्वृ-
त्तिर्विदिताभवत् ३ पौषमासस्य सप्तम्यां शुक्लायां गुरुवासरे अनंतरं
भवान् काशीमलंकर्त्तुमुपागतः ४ तस्मिन्नवसरे मेभूदत्युत्कण्ठा-
भिनन्दने आशीर्भिः किन्तु भवतस्त्वरासीत् पश्चिमां दिशं ५ गन्तुन्ततो
मयाऽलोचि पुनरागमने सति दर्शनार्थं गमिष्यामीत्येतन्नागमनं ह्य-
भूत् ६ श्रीकाश्यां भवतो राजन्नत आर्जववेदिका पत्रिका मया लिख्यतेस्तां
भवाञ्छ्रोतुमर्हति ७ यदाहं वाराणस्यामागतो गुवालि-

यरात्तदा व्ययार्थं किंचिद्द्रव्यमासीत्तद्वशादधीत्य स्थित: यदा तद्द्रव्यं
समाप्तं तदा श्रीभागवतवाचनेनात्मवृत्तिं कुर्वन्नासं
यत्प्रभृति नेत्रयोर्व्याधिराविरासीत्तदा किमपि कर्त्तुं न शक्नोमि घटीमात्रं
पठने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं नि:सरति शिरसि च वेद-
नोत्पद्यत एतदत्रत्या: पण्डिता: नगरस्थलोकाश्च सर्वे जानंति यत्प्रभृति
श्रीमता महाराजेन मत्प्रवृत्ति: शोधिता तत्प्रभृति
वह्वी: शुभाशिष: श्रीमते प्रयुञ्जान आशासे यत्प्रेष्यपरंपराद्वारा मच्छोधनं
भवद्भि: कारितं तद्धि युक्ततरमेव उक्तं च श्रीमद्भा-
गवते एतावान् हि प्रभोरर्थो यद्दीनपरिपालनमित्यतो महाराज कंपनीगृहे
साक्षाद्धर्ममूर्त्तिधरं सार्वभौमं भवंतमिदमेव या-
चे यच्छ्रीमुखात्किंचिन्मदर्थमत्रत्यान्प्रत्याज्ञप्यतां यल्लब्ध्वा लब्ध्वा भोजं
भोजममरधुन्यवगाहनपूर्वकं काश्यां निव-

[Page 2]

सन् श्रीमते शुभाशिष: प्रयुञ्जान: स्थास्यामीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेषु
30th May 1797

7

LETTER OF KANHARDAS TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL

(*OR* 22 May 1798 No. 320)

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमंडलमंडनप्रख्यापितकीर्त्तितरंगिणीधवलीकृ-
ताशेषदिगंतरालेषु श्रीमत्सदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितपर-
मोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्ठ्यलंकारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु[1] कंन्ह-
रदासस्याशिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम् स्वोदंतो मया निवेद्यते तद्यथा नि-
वेशनमस्माकं गुवालियराख्ये नगरेऽभिधानं च कंन्हरदास इति श्रीवाराण-
स्यां दारानगर इदानीं निवसामि महता प्रयासेनाहर्दिवं शास्त्रमधीत्यस्थितं-
[पु]नरेकंमम दुःखमुपस्थितं यद्वशान्महती चिंतोत्पन्ना तत इदं विचिंति-
तं यत्स्वदुःखं प्रजानाथे निवेदनीयमिति स्वदुःखं तन्निवेदनमूलभू-
तं शास्त्रं च लिखित्वा सम्राजः श्रीसोरसाहवस्य सविधे कलकत्ताख्यरा-
जधान्यां प्रेषितमासीत् तच्छ्रुत्वा ततस्तेन सार्वभौमेन मदर्थं काश्यां
किंचिद्यदाज्ञप्तं तेन मम भव्यं जातं इतः परं वुंदेलखंडाख्यराष्ट्राधी-[2]
शस्य चेदानीं मदुपरि महाननुग्रहोस्ति स्वराट्(*sic*)श्रीशोरसाहवकृते स्व-
राष्ट्रात्तेन किंचित्पारितोपिकं प्रेषितमस्ति तन्मत्सविधेस्ति इ-
दानीं श्रूयते ते तु स्वदेशं प्रस्थिता इत्यतश्चार्जवपत्रं संदिग्धार्थनि-
र्णयसभापरपर्यायकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु प्रेषितमस्ति ते यदाज्ञापये-
युस्तद्विदधामि यद्याज्ञापयेयुस्तर्हि तत्रैव प्रेषयामि यद्वा वारा-
णस्यामेव कस्यचित्साहवस्य निकटे नयामि सम्राजः श्रीशोरसा-
[ह]वस्यानुकंपातो मम कल्याणमासीदहमप्यहर्निशं तदीयं भव्य-
माशासे इदानीं श्रीमद्भिर्यदाज्ञप्यते तत्करवाणीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेषु

(*On docket*)

1798/ Rec. 22 May/for translation/
J. Stracey/Sub-Secretary/
(*In a different hand*) came by dawk/without any letter/accompg therefore/not to be translated.

स्वस्ति श्रीमान्नारवलावानमंडलमहनप्रख्यापितकीर्त्तितरंगिणीधवलीकृ

ताशेषदिगंतरालेषु श्रीमत्सदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितगुरु

मोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्ठ्यलंकारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु कंन्ह

रदासस्याशिषांराशयोविलसंतुतराम् स्वोदंतो मयानिवेद्यते तद्यथानि

वेदनमस्माकंगुवालियरारव्येनगरेऽभिधानंचकंन्हरदास इति श्रीवाराण

स्यांशरणनगर इदानींनिवसामि महताप्रयासेनाहर्दिवंशास्त्रमधीत्यस्थितं

मोरवंकमसदुःखमुपस्थितं यद्दशान्मतौचिंतोत्पन्ना ततइदंविचिंति

तंयत्स्वदुःखंप्रजानाथेनिवेदनीयमिति स्वदुःखंतन्निवेदनमूलम्

तंशास्त्रंचलिखि[illegible] सम्राजःश्रीशोरसाहबस्यसविधकलकत्तारव्यरा

जधान्यांप्रेषितमासीत् तच्छ्रुत्वाततस्तेनसार्वभौमेनम[illegible]श्वा

कि[illegible]यद्राजप्रतेन[illegible]मभ्यंजातं इतःपरंबुंदेलखंड[illegible]गच्छ[illegible]

शस्यचेदानींमदुपरिमहाननुग्रहोस्ति स्वराट्श्रीशोरसाहबवस्तेस्व

राष्ट्रात्तेनदि[illegible]पत्रिकंप्रेषितमस्ति तन्मत्सविधेस्ति इ

दानींश्रूयतेतेतुस्वदेशंप्रस्थिताइत्यतस्त्वा[illegible]नेवपत्रंसंदिश्याधुनी

णीयसभापरपर्यायकौशलाधिष्ठातृषुप्रेषितमस्ति तेयदाज्ञापयं

युस्तद्विदधामि यद्याज्ञापयेयुस्तर्हितत्रैववसेययामि यद्वावारा

णस्यामेवकस्यचित्साहबस्यनिकटेनयामि सम्राजःश्रीशोरसा

[illegible]अस्मानुकंपातोम[illegible]त्याग्राम[illegible]प्रहनिशंतथैवभव्य

माशासे इदानींश्रीमद्भिर्यदाज्ञप्यतेतत्करवाणीत्यलंसर्वज्ञकल्पेषु

7. Letter of Kanhar Das to the Supreme Council, 22 May, 1798.

8

LAUDATORY VERSES IN KASHINATH PANDIT'S LETTER

(OR 3 June 1801 No. 349)

बाहुच्छायां प्रजास्ते सततमधिगता: शेरते वीतशंका आतंकाढ्या
भ्रमंतो दिशि दिशि रिपवो नैव निद्रां लभंते न्याये[नो]र्व्यां चतुष्पा-
च्चिरविहतपद: स्थापितोभूद्वृषस्ते किं ब्रूम: पुण्यकीर्त्तिनतिभ-
वसि नृपाल्लाटमार्न्टीन । भूप १ सिंधो: पारं प्रयाता निपतित
पृतनास्त्यिल्क(क्त)वंतो ममत्वं राष्ट्रे दुर्गे च कोशे रणभूवि भवता वत्स-
लत्वेन मुक्ता: प्रात प्राच्यामुदीच्य प्रतिदिनमरयो मंडलं चं-
डरश्मेस्तद्गोलभ्रांतिभाजो दधति विकलतां लाटमार्न्टी[न] भूप २

9

LETTER FROM THE PURI PRIESTS TO LORD WELLESLEY

(*OR* 24 July 1804 No. 345)

||श्रीस्वामीजगन्नाथजीसहाय||

|| श्रीमदिष्टदेवोपासनाप्रभावविभावितक्षितिभारोत्तारणपरायणेषु[1] निजभुज-
|| वीर्याश्रितशौर्यचर्यापर्याप्तभूमंडलांतर्वर्त्तिरिपुमण्डलप्रतापनिर्वापणपणीकृ-
|| तस्त्रीगणगीयमानगुणगणाश्रयेषु सत्कीर्तिकीर्त्तनप्रवर्त्तनासक्तजगज्जनेषु इं-
|| गरेजकुलकमलप्रकाशकैकभास्करेषु देववैष्णवब्राह्मणरक्षादीक्षितेषु नवा-
|| वमुस्तताव[2]मालिअलकाव[3]असरफ[4]अलअसराफमारकोइसवलजली[5]गोरन-
रज-
|| नरल[6]वहादुरदामअकवालहु[7]इतिनामधेयेषु श्रीमत्सु समस्तपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रवासि
|| नां श्रीमतां सतां महतां[8] समस्तवैष्णवानां [9]राजगुरुप्रभृतीनामशेषब्राह्मणानां
षट्त्रिं-
|| शन्नियोगनायककृष्णचंद्रमहापात्र[10]प्रभृतिसेवकानां च परमाशिषोविलसंतु-
|| तरां श्रीजगन्नाथस्य महाप्रभोरिच्छानुसारेण नवावसाहेवस्याज्ञया च
श्रीमंदिरे श्रीजग-
|| न्नाथस्वामिनः इंगरेजवहादुरस्यावधानपूर्वकप्रयत्नेन ससहायानामस्माकं संप्र-
|| ति प्रावल्यमासीत् अतः कारणादेवास्माकं नैश्चित्यं सुखं च भाग्यानुसारे-
णागतं त-
|| स्माद्वयं सर्वे क्षेत्रवासिनः सदाशीर्वचनानि कुर्महे ते वयं सर्वे भवत्संस्थानं
प्रति मं-
|| गलं प्रेषयितुमिच्छामः एवमेव च श्रीक्षेत्रे सर्वदा भवतामधिकारः स्यादिति
विचिंतया-
|| मः भवद्यशोविषयचिंतायां श्रीजगदीशस्वामिमंदिरे भवत्प्रभुत्वं लोकमुखा-
त्कर्णाच्छा-[11]
|| स्त्रात्सूचनाच्च प्रागेव निरचैष्म संप्रति यथानिश्चयं नेत्रद्वारानुभवामः
भवत्पक्षाणां

|| युद्धोद्यमवेलायामनंतरे रिपुपराजये तद्विद्रावणे च यादृक् पराक्रममद्राक्ष्म: तादृक्-
|| पराक्रमं न कस्याप्यपश्याम न वा कस्यापि द्रक्ष्याम: तत्समये एवं तात्पर्येण सर्वेषां पा-
|| लनं कृतं कस्यापि कुतश्चिदुपप्लवो नाभूत् तत्समयेस्माभिर्भगवत्परिचर्या-नियुक्तैर-
|| त्रस्थले युद्धं जातमिति न ज्ञातं प्राचीनाधिकारे यत्र कुत्रचित्स्वल्पकार्येऽस्माकं
|| बाधास्थिता अधुना सर्वप्रकारेण भवदधिकारात्सुखमनुभूयते अस्मा-भिस्सत्यत-
|| या आशास्यते यथा ब्रह्मादिभिर्द्धर्मसंस्थापनमकारि तथैव भवान्करोतु इति इंगरेज-
|| बहादुरस्य सावधानतयास्माकं सर्वेषां प्राणानां धनानां च रक्षां निशाम्या-न्येभ्यो बृं-
|| दावनवाराणस्यादिदेशेभ्य: रामनाथान् द्वारिकात: सर्वे समागत्य भगवद्दर्शनं
|| कृत्वा वैकुंठारोहणमधिकरिष्यंति अत्र वयमपि भगवदग्रेऽहोरात्रं सर्वदाइच्छाम:
|| इंगरेजबहादुरस्याधिकार: सदा जागर्त्तु श्रीभगवान्भवंतं प्रत्यहं स्वच्छा-यायां स्थाप-
|| यित्वा उत्तरोत्तरं वृद्धिं प्रापयतु वयं सर्वे भवत्कल्याणापेक्षिणो भवत्पा-लनया निर्भया:
|| संत: जगन्नाथस्य सेवायां नियुक्ता: स्थास्याम:|| || भोगोपि साधयति योग-
|| फलं हि यत्र जातिं विशोधयति भोजनमव्यवस्थं एतादृगस्य महिमा पुरुषोत्तमस्य दा-
|| सीपदद्वयरजांसि पुनंति देवान् १ श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यां गहनो हि पंथा: बुधा मुधाधावत
|| किं श्रमेण न्यग्रोधमूले लवणोदतीरे ब्रह्मामृतं लोचनपेयमस्ति || कुक्कुरस्य मुखा-
|| द्भ्रष्टं यदन्नं पावनं महत् ब्रह्माद्यैरपि भोक्तव्यं भाग्यतो यदि लभ्यते ||[12] योगिनां यो हृ-

|| दाकाशे विद्युद्वर्णः प्रकाशते स एव दारुरूपेण नीलाद्रौ भासते महः ||
ब्रह्मादिश्वप-

|| चांतानां यत्प्रसादान्नभोजने न च पंक्तेर्हि भेदोस्ति जगन्नाथाय मंगलं ||
लक्ष्मीश्चे-

|| त्र सरस्वती तदुभयं यद्यस्ति नोदारता तत्त्वापि त्रितयं घटेत कतिचित्पुण्यैर-
|| गण्यैरपि सौजन्यं न विजृंभते तदपिचेन्नास्त्येव धर्मे रतिस्तत्सर्वं जगदी-
श्वरस्य कृपया

|| त्वय्येव संराजते ||

[*On the Margin*]

(Col-1) *In Oriya*	श्रीगोपीनाथशरणं
	छतीशानीयोगनायक
	कृष्णचन्द्रमहापात्रंकर
	ये दसकत्
(Col-2) *In Devanagari*	श्रीजगन्नाथजी
	एदस्तक जगन्नाथ-
	वल्लभके अधिकारी गु-
	रुमुखदासजी का
	श्रीराममहंतराम
	रत्नदास
(Col-3) *In Devanagari*	सुरदासु (?) गुरुजी
	श्री [^ ×] गयाराम
In Rajasthani	श्रीगोपाला (^ ?) जी
	श्रीइन्द्रलालजी
In Devanagari	श्रीराम
	एदस्तक बडा अखाडा के महंत
	चेतनदासजी का
(Col-4) *In Kanarese*	श्रीमंत रत्ननृसिंहाचारि स्वामि
	[ ]

In Devanagari	श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः महंत सौम्यजा- मात्रजि
(Col-5) *In Telugu*	श्रीराजगुरु उ तिरु मल पिचिंडि वेंकटाचार स्वामी
In Devanagari	श्रीराम श्रीरामजी महंत छो टे संत वडेसंत रामसेवकदास जी
(Col-6) *In Devanagari*	श्रीराम महंत श्रीरामदासजी
In Bengali	श्रीराधाकृष्ण: । श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रदेवगोस्वामि
In Maithili	श्रीशीतलानन्ददेवस्य गोस्वामि श्रीगोपीनाथदेवगोस्वामिन:[13]
In Devanagari	श्रीराम अधिकारी नारायणदास
(Col-7) *In Devanagari*	श्रीराम श्रीमहं त जराम दासजी
(Col-8) *In Devanagari*	प्रमाणमिदं जगन्नाथ राजगुरो: ॥

10

LEGEND ON YASOVANT RAO HOLKAR'S COIN

(*OR* 26 February 1808 No. 85)

श्री

लक्ष्मीकांतपदांभोजभ्रमराई(यि)तचेतस ।। यसबंतस्य विख्याता मुद्रौ(द्रै)षा प्र(पृ)थिवि(वी)तले ।। ।। इंद्रप्रस्थस्थितोराजा चक्रवर्त्ती शु(भू)मंडले ।। तत्प्रसादि(दा)त्कृता मुद्रात्तोकेम्मि(न्) वै विराजते ।। ।। इ(श)के १७२८।।

11

LEGAL OPINION DELIVERED BY FIVE BENARES PANDITS ON A QUESTION OF SUCCESSION

(*OR* 1822 No Date)

श्रीसिद्धैश्वर्यै नमः ॥

[* * * *][1] नागरब्राह्मणाः सोदरभगिनीयुक्ता अविभक्ता एव संभूय राजकार्याणि गृहकृत्यानि च कुर्वा-

[णा आस][2]न् तेषु च केचन सापत्याः केचन निरपत्या आसन् ततः कति-पयेन कालेन तेष्येको भ्राता सप-

[त्नीक एको][3]भ्रातुष्पुत्रः सपत्नीकः भगिनीपौत्राश्चावशिष्टाः अन्ये सर्वे स्वर्गताः ततः कतिपयेन

[कालेन भ्रातुष्][4]पुत्रः स्वर्गतः तदनंतरं कतिपयैरहोभिः भ्रातापि यो यो धर्मो यो यश्च

[आचार-व्यव][5]हारो यथा मयानु[ष्ठित[6]] : स सहस्रवत्सरपर्यंतं अनंत-वत्सरपर्यंत भोगोद्देशेन राज-

[दत्तस्थावरोत्पन्न][7]द्रव्यव्ययेन तथानुष्ठेय इति समयं कृत्वा स्वर्गतः तदा तत्पत्नी तद्भ्रातु-

[ष्पुत्रपत्नी भ][8]गिनीपौत्राश्च स्थिताः ते चैकत्रैव भोजनादिव्यवहारं कुर्वंतो मरणसमये च तत्कृतं

[समयं (?)][9] [त][10]थैव [परि][11] पालयंतस्तिष्ठं(ष्ठं ?) [12]ति तेषां सर्वेषां तत्पितामहाद्यर्जिते तथातद्भ्रातृपंचकार्जि-

[ते][13] [इदंतु] [स्थावरजंगमात्मकं[14]] परंपरागतधनवत्त्वयाभोक्तव्यं ये ये त्वदीयदायभागिनो भावि-

नस्तैरपी[दं][15] निरंतरं सदा भोक्तव्यमित्येवं लिखितदानपत्रसाहत तद्भ्रातृपंचकान्यतमा-

[य राज्ञा][16] दत्ते च स्थावरजंगमात्मके सकलेपि धने तत्कृतसमय-
परिपालने च किं समोधिकार आ-
[होस्वि][17]दन्यतमाभावेऽन्यतमस्य उत एतेषु सर्वेषु जीवत्स्वेव राज्ञ इति
विदुषः प्रति अंकर्षि व[18]-
[सु]वसुंधरामिताब्दीयज्यैष्ठासिततृतीयायां प्रश्नः ॥

[वारा][19]णसीनिवासिविदुषामुत्तरम् ॥ मिताक्षरा[20]वीरमित्रोदय[21]-
व्यवहार[22]माधवीयादिनिबंधेषु विधृतानां मनुविष्णुनारदबृह-
[स्पतियाज्ञवल][23]क्यादिमहर्षिवचसां पर्यालोचनया पूर्वोक्त तत्पूर्वजार्जिते
तद्भ्रात्रर्जिते तदर्जिते पूर्वोक्तरीत्यालिखितदानपत्रसहिते
[भ्रातृपंच][24]कान्यतमाय राज्ञा[द]त्ते च स्थावरजंगमात्मके सकलेपि
तद्धने आदौ तत्पत्न्यास्तदभावे तद्भ्रातुष्पुत्रपत्न्यास्तदभावे
तद्भगि-
[नीपौत्रा][25]णामधिकारः एव तत्कृतसमयपालनाधिकारोपिनिर्णयः
तत्कृतसमयपरिपालनस्य तद्रिक्थसाध्यत्वेन तद्रि-
[क्थभा][26]गिन एव तत्परिपालनस्य न्यायप्राप्तत्वात् तेषु सत्सु राज्ञस्तु
नाधिकारः सर्वेषां दायभाजामभावे एव तदधिकारबोधनात्
[ब्राह्मण][27]धने तु नतरां तस्याधिकारः तद्धनग्रहनस्य राज्ञो निषिद्धत्वात्
तत्रापि नागरधने सुतरां नाधिकारः नागरजातीयानां त[28]-
[द]भावे न राज्ञोपि तथैव तत्पालनस्यावश्यकत्वात् किंच तत्कृतं समयं
राजा [न][29] नाशयेत्किंतु पालयेदेव संरक्षेत्समयंराजेति
[व्यवहार][30]माधवलिखितनारदवचनात[31] ॥ अथ तानि वचनानि
लिख्यंते ॥ पत्नीदुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा ॥ तत्सुता गो-
[त्रजा बंधु][32] शिष्यसब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ एषामभावे पूर्वस्यधनभागुत्तरोत्तरः ॥
स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिरिति
[याज्ञवल्क्य[33]]वचनं मिताक्षरायाम्[34] ॥ अपुत्रधनं पत्न्यभिगामी
तदभावे दुहितृगामि तदभावे पितृगामि तदभावे मातृगामि त-
दभावे भ्रातृगामि तदभावे भ्रातृपुत्रगामि तदभावे बंधुगामि तदभावे
सकुल्यगामि तदभावे सहाध्यायिगामि तदभावे ब्राह्मण ध-

।। न [वर्जं राज-][35] गामीति विष्णुवचनं[36] ।। बंधुरत्र सपिंड: सकुल्य: सगोत्र इति तद्व्याख्यानं च वीरमित्रोदये । बंधव: सपिंडास्ते च सगो-
।। त्रा असगोत्राश्चेति तद्व्याख्यानं श्रीमती[37]समाख्यायां तद्व्याख्यायां च ।। आम्नाये स्मृतितत्त्वे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभि: ।।
।। शरीरार्द्धे(र्द्धं) स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ।। यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्द्धं तस्य जीवति । जीवत्यर्द्धशरीरेर्थं कथमन्य:
।। समाप्नुयात् ।। सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृमातृसनाभिभि: ।। अपुत्रस्य प्रमीतस्य पत्नी तद्भागहारिणीति वृहस्पतिवचनं[38] वी-
।। रमित्रोदये ।। ये पुत्रा: क्षत्रविट् शुद्रा: पत्नीभ्रातृविवर्जिता: ।। तेषां धनं हरेद्राजेति वृहस्पतिवचनं [39] पत्नीसत्त्वे क्षत्रादि-
।। धनानधिकारं राज्ञो वदन्ब्राह्मणविषये तत्सत्त्वे तदनधिकारं कैमुतिकन्यायेनाभिप्रैति अत्र पत्नीभ्रातृविवर्जिता इति स-
।। ब्रह्मचारिपर्यंताभावोपलक्षकमिति तद्व्याख्यानं च वीरमित्रोदये । सर्वाभावे हरेन्नृप[40] इति । अहार्यं ब्राह्मणधनं राज्ञा
नित्यमिति[41] मनुवचनं वीरमित्रोदये ।। अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् किंतु राजा धर्मपरायण[42] इति नारदवचनं च वीरमित्रोदये ।।
।। यस्मिन्देशे य आचारो व्यवहार: कुलस्थिति: ।। तथैव परिपाल्योसौ यदा वशमुपागत[43] इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं मिताक्ष-
।। रायां ।। इमान्येव वचनानि व्यवहारमाधवीये अंकर्षिवसुवसुंधरामिताब्दीयज्येष्ठासितसप्तम्याम् ।।[44]

संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपनामक प्रभाकरशर्मण:
अत्रार्थे संमति: श्रीप्राणनाथाचार्यस्य
संमतिरत्र घुले इत्युपनामकसदाशिवशर्मण:
सम्मतोर्थो शेषोपाह्वकृष्णशर्मण:
सममंस्तामुमर्थं तात्याशर्मा गणक:

12

LEGAL OPINION ON THE PARTIBILITY OF ROYAL ESTATES

(*OR* 6 June 1825)

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श्री : द्विजातीतरजातीये राजनि एकस्यामुत्पन्नं ज्येष्ठं सुतं विभज्यान्यतरस्यां विवाहितायां सवर्णायां पुत्रान्तरमुत्पाद्य विपंचिते तदनु तद्विभक्त-विभक्तजयोः कथं दायभाग इत्यपेक्षायां विभक्तजः स्वपितुस्स्वत्वास्पदीभूतं यत्समन्यूनाधिकरूपमृक्थं तत्पूर्वजोपि प्राग्विभागलब्धं यत् न्यूनमधिकं समं वा तत्तथैव पालयेत् इति शास्त्रीया व्यवस्था। तथा हि ऊर्द्ध (द्ध्वं) म्वि भागाज्जातस्तु पित्र्यमेव हरेद्धनम्। संसृष्टास्ते न वा ये स्युर्विभजेत स तैस्सहेति मनुः[1]। वृहस्पतिश्च[2]। पित्रा सह विभक्ता ये सापत्न्याः वा सहोदराः। जघन्याश्चैव एतेषां पितृभागहरास्तु ते। अनीशाः पूर्वजाः पित्र्ये भ्रातृभागे विभक्तजः। पुत्रैः सह विभक्तेन पित्रा यत्स्वयमर्जितम्। विभक्तजस्य तत्सर्वमनीशाः पूर्वजास्स्मृता इति। न्यूनाधिकविभक्तानां धर्मः पितृकृतः स्मृत इति याज्ञवल्क्यः[3]। पित्रैव तु विभक्ता ये समन्यूनाधिकैर्धनैः। तेषां स एव धर्मस्स्यात्सर्वस्यैव पिता प्रभुरिति नारदः[4]। समन्यूनाधिका भागाः पित्रा येषां प्रकल्पिताः। तथैव ते पालनीया विनेयास्ते स्युरन्यथेति वृहस्पतिः[5]। विभागनिह्नवे तु विभावनार्हो विभावनीयः। अविभावयितव्यश्चेत्पुनर्विभाज्य इति व्यवस्थितिः। तत्र विभागनिह्नवे ज्ञातिवंधुसाक्षिविलेखितैः। वि-

भागभावना ज्ञेया गृहक्षेत्रैश्च यौतकैः[6] । विभागधर्मसंदेहे वंधुसाक्ष्यभिलेखितैः । विभागभावना का-
र्या न भवेद्दैवकी क्रियेति[7] याज्ञवल्क्यः । विभागधर्मसंदेहे दायादीनां विनिर्णयः । ज्ञातिभिर्भागलेख्येन
पृथक्कार्यप्रवर्त्तनादिति नारदः ।[8] विभागे यत्र संदेहो दायादानां परस्परम् । पुनर्विभागः कर्त्तव्यः पृ-
थ[क्] स्थानस्थितैरपीति[9] मनु [:] प्रमाणम् । पुनर्विभाज्यत्वे तूभाभ्यां चेतनाचेतनचराचरात्मकमखिलमृक्थं
मातृभागेन वा स्वीयेन च सममेव विभजनीयमिति स्थितिः । अत्र विभजे-रन्सुताः पित्रोरूर्द्ध (द्ध्वं) रिक्थमृणं
सममिति याज्ञवल्क्यः[10] । अत ऊर्द्ध (द्ध्वं) पितुः पुत्रा विभजेरन्धनं सममिति नारदः[11] । ऊर्द्ध (द्ध्वं) पितुश्च मातुश्च स-
मेत्य भ्रातरः समम् । भजेरन् पैतृकं रिक्थंमनीशास्ते हि जीवतो इति मनुः[12] । चशब्दोपादानेपि मरणस-
मुच्चयो न विवक्षितः । अतएव मदनरत्ने स्मृतिसंग्रहे पितृद्रव्यविभागः स्यात् जीवन्त्यामपि मातरि । न स्व-
तंत्रतया स्वाम्यं यस्मान्मातुः पतिं विना । यद्येकजाता[14] वहवः समाना जातिसंख्यया । सामान्यात्स्त्री[15]विभ-
क्तव्यं मातृभागेन धर्मतः । सवर्णा भिन्नसंख्या ये पुंभाग स्तेपु शस्यते इति वृहस्पतिः । समानजाति-
संख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सूनवः । विभिन्नमातृकास्तेषां मातृभागः प्रशस्यत- इति व्यास[:] प्रमाणं[16] । य-
द्यपि शूद्रेषु च स्वस्वकर्मसंपन्नेषु च कलौ च समजातिसंख्यकविमातृजेषु[17] च पितुरूर्द्ध(द्ध्वं) विभागे
चोद्धारस्य निषिद्धत्वं तथापि ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठयित्वैव पश्चाद्राज्ञा चैतदुभौ (समांश)- भाजौ[18] कार्याविति विशेषः
अत्र हि । शूद्रस्य तु सवर्णैव नान्या भार्या विधीयते । तस्यां जाता[19]- स्समांशाः स्युर्यदि पुत्रशतं भवेत ।[20] सम-

वर्णास्तु ये जाताः सर्वे पुत्राः द्विजन्मनाम्। उद्धारं ज्यायसे दत्वा भजेरन्नितरे समम्[21] ।१। उद्धारो न दशस्वस्ति संपन्नानां स्वकर्मसु। यत्किंचिदेव देयं तु ज्यायसे मानवर्द्धनमिति[22] तत्वशुक्तिः[23]। अयं चोद्धारभागः कलौ निषिद्धः कलिवर्ज्येषु पाठादिति व्यवहारमयूखः। यद्येकजाता वहव इत्यादिपूर्वलिखितबृहस्पतिः। विभजेरन्सुताः पित्रोरूर्द्ध(द्धर्व)मित्यादिपूर्वे(र्वो)ल्लिखितयाज्ञवल्क्यनारदमनुवाक्यानि। उपसर्जनं प्रधानस्य धर्मतो नोपपद्यते। पिता प्रधानं प्रजनेत्तस्माद्धर्मेण तं भजेदिति मनुः[24] ॥ यत्किंचिदेवदेयमिति तत्त्वशुक्तिरपि पूर्वोद्देशितेषु क्रमेण प्रमाणम्। अथवा देशजातिकुलव्यवहारेणापि विभागो धर्म एवेति कात्यायनः[25]। देशस्य जातेः संघस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य यो भृगुः। उदितः स्यात्स तेनैव दायभागं प्रकल्पयेत्। भृगुराहरिति(हेति)शेषः। समयाचारका धर्माः देशजातिकुलोद्भवाः ग्रामाचाराः परिग्राह्याः ये च विध्यविरोधिन इति मदनपार(रि)जाते। श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्म(:) तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणमिति वसिष्ठः[26]। सरस्वतीदृशद्वत्योः देवनद्योर्यदंतरं। तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पांचालास्सुरसेनजाः[27]। एष ब्रह्मर्षिः [देशो] [28] वै ब्रह्मावर्त्तादनंतरः। एतद्देशप्रसुतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः। स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवा इति मनुः[29]। अत्र निर्णेता पूर्वजं स्वरुच्या किंचिद्विशेषयित्वा तदनु ज्येष्ठानुजौ समौ कुर्यादिति पूर्वोल्लिखितसर्वव्यवस्थानां निष्कर्षः ॥

अत्र साधारणदायभागप्रतिपादकार्षपद्यप्रतिपादितेमा व्यवस्था अप्रमाणमित्यपि न वक्तव्यम् ॥

अनेकगुणधर्मिणां राजामात्यमंत्रिपुरोहितवैद्यप्राज्ञादीनां प्रत्येकैकस्य पृथक् पृथक् असाधारण-

व्यवस्थावाक्यानामदर्शनात्। पुनो राज्यस्य विभाज्येष्व[30] पाठान्नाप्यविभाज्यशंका प्रत्यूत: सर्वकालिक-
राज्यविभागस्तु शास्त्रत: प्रतीयत एव। अत्र प्रतीपकाकांक्षायां[31]। वंशं प्रियव्रतस्यापि निबोध नृपसत्तम। ये
नारदादात्मविद्यामधिगम्य पुनर्महीम्। भुक्त्वा विभज्य पुत्रेभ्य ऐश्वरं समगात्पदमिति[32]। आग्नीध्रसुता[33]
स्ते मातुरनुग्रहादौत्पत्तिकेनैव संहनवलोपेता: पित्रा विभक्ता आत्मतुल्य-नामानि यथाभागं जम्बुद्वी-
पवर्षाणि बुभुजूरिति च भागवतम्। तत: स नीपो[34] राजर्षिस्तस्मै निरवशेषत:। भलंदाय[35] ददौ ब्रह्म-
न्नन्नग्रामं महात्मने। प्राप्तास्त्रविद्या(द्य:) स यदा पितृव्यतनयानिमान् वसुरातादिकान्पुत्रान्
दिष्ठ्यस्य तु महात्मन:। अयाचत स राज्यार्द्धं पितृपैतामहोचितमिति मार्कण्डेयम-
पि। कोशलेषु कुशं वीरमुत्तरेषु तथालवम्॥ अभिषिच्य महात्मानावुभौ राम: कुशीलवौ। र-
थानां त्रिसहस्राणि नागानामयुतानि च। दश चाश्वसहस्राणि एकैकस्य धनं ददौ वहुरत्नौ वहु-
धानौ हृष्टपुष्टजनाश्रयौ। स्वे पुरे प्रेषयामास भ्रातरौ तौ कुशीलवाविति रामायणं च। अजात-
शत्रो: प्रतियच्छ दायं तितिक्षतो दुर्विषहं तवाग:। सहानुजो यत्र वृकोदराहि: श्वसन् रुषा य-
न्त्वमलं विभेषि। इति तृतीयस्कंधे[36] धृतराष्ट्रं प्रति विदुरवचनम्। नाभागो नभगापत्यं य
तु तं भ्रातरं कविम्। यविष्ठं व्यभजन् दायं ब्रह्मचारिणमागतमिति नवम स्कंध:[37]। राजा तु पां-
डुरभवत् महात्मा लोकविश्रुत:। स राजा तस्य ते पुत्रा: पितुर्दायापहारिण: मा तात कलहं का-
र्षी राज्यस्यार्द्धं प्रदीयताम्। यतो भीष्मस्ततो द्रोणो यद्भीष्मस्त्वाह तत्कुरु दीयतां पांडुपुत्रेभ्य[ो] रा-

ज्यार्द्धमरिकर्षण ।। क्रमागतं राज्यमिदं परेषां हर्त्तुं कथं शक्ष्यसि दुर्विनीत प्रयच्छ राज्यार्द्धमपेतमोह(:) सवाहनं त्वं सपरिच्छदं च। निगृह्य सुहृदां मन्युं शाधि राज्यं यथोचितम्। स्वमंशं पाण्डुपुत्रेभ्यः प्रदाय भरतर्षभ। मा तात श्रियमायान्तीमवमंस्था समुद्यताम्। अर्द्धं प्रदाय पार्थेभ्यो महती श्रियमाप्स्यसीत्युद्योगे दुर्य्योधनं प्रति भीष्मद्रोणगांधारीश्रीकृष्णवाक्यक्रमः[38]। यदस्माकं विभो वृत्तं पुरा वै मंत्रनिश्चये। अर्द्धंराज्यस्य गोविंद विदितं सर्वराजसु। तच्चेद्द्याादसंगे नमस्कृत्यानवमन्य च प्रियं मे स्यान्महावाहो मुच्येरन्महतो भयादित्यपि तत्रैव श्रीकृष्णं प्रत्यर्जुनवाक्यम्। महानंदसुतो राजन् शूद्रगर्भोद्भवो वली। महापद्म इति ख्यातो नंदः क्षत्रविनाशकृत्। तस्य चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति सुमाल्यप्रमुखाः सुता य इमां भोक्ष्यन्ति महिं राजानः स्म शतं समाः इति द्वादशस्कंधवाक्यम्। आकृतयुगान्तकलियुगावधिकराज्यस्य पितृकर्तृकभ्रातृकर्तृकदायभागप्रत्यायकतयावसेयमित्यलं पल्लवितेन ।। १ ।।

पंडित ठाकुरदास ।। रामप्रसाद भटा(*sic*)चार्ज(*sic*) निकामिश्र ।। रामकृष्ण ।।

13

VERSE BY JADUNATH PANDIT
(OR 1828 No Date)

श्रीर्जयति

सुवर्णमुक्ताकलितं सदर्थप्रतिपत्तिकृत् राजानमर्हतिछत्रं छायानिवहवाहकम् १

स एषगतप्रत्यागतादिवहुतरवन्धगर्भश्छत्रवन्धः छत्रवन्धचित्रम्

कालिंकाममलाभांचयशालातुरसापते ।
कालिकाममलाभाचयशालातुरसापते ॥

14

LEGAL OPINION ON SUCCESSION OBTAINED BY RANI SUKHAN OF BURIYA

(*OR* 12 August 1829)

श्रीगणेशायनमः ।। पत्युः पुत्रस्य च मरणानंतर-
मेका मृतपुत्रापराऽजातपुत्रा तत्सपात्नी(पत्नी) चोभा-
वेव तन्मृतपतिपुत्रस्वामिकचराचरात्मकाखि-
लैश्वर्यश्रियं विभज्य ये पृथक्पृथगतिष्ठतां तयोरे-
का चेद्दैवात्पंचत्वमा[प]द्येत तदा तत्सपत्नी तद्दाया-
दतया तद् वक्थ्यं(रिक्थं?)लभेन्नवेति ब्राह्मादिवि-
वाहपंचकोढानपत्यस्त्रीधनस्य तावद्भर्तृगामि-
त्वात्तदभावे तत्प्रत्यासन्नगामित्वात्तत्प्रत्यास-
न्नेपु च पुत्राद्व(द्य)भावे भार्याया एव प्रत्यासन्नतरत्वा-
त् मुख्यदायादतया सपत्नी लभेतैवेति शास्त्री-
या व्यवस्था । तथाह्यपरार्के[1] मनुः । ब्राह्मदै [वा] र्षगां-
धर्व प्राजापत्येपु यद्भवेत् । अतीतायामप्रजसि
भर्तुरेव तदिष्यत इति[2] । तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः[3] । अ-
प्रजस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्व्र(ब्रा)ह्मादिपु चतुर्ष्वपि दुहित-
णां प्रसूता चेच्छेपेपु पितृगामि तदिति । अस्यार्थः ।
व्रा (ब्र.) ह्मदैवार्षप्राजापत्यविवाहसंस्कृतायां भार्यायां
मृतायां तद्धनं भर्ता गृन्हा(ह्ला)ति तदभावे भर्तृकुल-
प्रत्यासन्नतरास्ते गृन्ही(ह्णी)युस्तदभावे पितृकुले ये प्र-
त्यासन्नास्ते इति विवेकः[4] । शेषेषु आसुरगांधर्वरा-
क्षसपैशाचेपु विवाहेषु भार्यात्वं प्राप्तायां मृतायां
धनं मातापितरौ गृह्णीतः । प्रथमं माता तदभावे
पिता तदभावे पितृकुलप्रत्यासन्नबांधवास्तदभा-
वे भर्तृकुले ये प्रत्यासन्न[ा]स्ते गृह्णीयुरिति मदनपारि-
जाते[5] । अप्रजस्त्रियाः । पूर्वोक्तायाः । ब्रा (ब्रा)ह्मदैवार्ष-

प्राजापत्येषु चतुर्षु विवाहेषु भार्यात्वं प्राप्तायाः । अ
तीतायाः । पूर्वोक्तं धनं । प्रथमं भर्त्ता भवति तद-
भावे तत्प्रत्यासन्नानां[6] भवति । शेषेष्ठा(ष्वा)सुर गांधर्व-
राक्षसपैशाचेषु च विवाहेषु तदप्रजस्त्रीधनं पितृ-
गामि । माता च पिता च पितरौ तौ गच्छतीति पितृ-
गामि । एकशेषनिर्दिष्टाया[7] अपि मातुः प्रथमं धनग्र-
हणं पूर्वमेवोक्तं तदभावे[पितु][8]स्तदभावे तत्प्रत्या-
सन्नानां धनग्रहणं सर्वेष्वेव[वि]वाहेषु प्रसूताप-
त्यवती चेद्दुहितृणां तद्धनं[भव]ति । अत्र दुहितृश-
ब्देन [दुहितृ] दुहितर उच्यंते । साक्षाद्दुहितृ[णांमा]तु दुहितरः ।
शेषमित्यत्रोक्तत्वादिति मिताक्षरा[9] । सपत्नीनि-
ष्ठपतिप्रत्यासन्नतायां च पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ
भ्रातरस्तथा । तत्सुताः गोत्रजबंधुशिष्यसब्रह्म-
चारिणः । एषामभावे पूर्वस्य धनभागुत्तरोत्त-
रः स्वर्यातस्य दा(अ)पुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिरिति
याज्ञवल्क्यः[10] । आम्नाये स्मृतिसंत्रे (तत्त्वे) च लोकाचारे
च सूरिभिः । शरीरार्द्धं स्मृता [जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले
समा यस्य नोपरता] भार्या देहार्द्धे (र्द्धं) तस्य जी-
वि(व)ति जीवत्यार्द्धशरीरेर्थंम्क(ङ्क)थमु(म)न्यः समाप्नुयादिति ।
वृ(बृ)हस्पतिः[11] । अपुत्रस्य धनं पत्न्यभिगामि तदभावे दु-
हितृगामि[12] तदभावे भ्रातृगामि तदभावे भ्रातृपुत्रगा-
मितदभावे बंधुगामि तदभावे सकुल्यगामि तदभा-
वे सहाय(सहाध्यायि)गामि तदभावे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणधनवर्ज राजगामी-
ति विष्णुरपि प्रमाणमित्यलम् ॥ श्रीरस्तु कल्यानमस्तु ॥

15

NEKARAM SHARMA'S LETTER TO MACNAGHTEN

(*OR* 1833, September)

श्री : ।

सद्गुणसंपन्नप्रतापसद्यशोवृंदचंदितजनावनबा-
बलाटसाहब बहादरसभासोम[1] सदामात्यव्रा-
तसुधांशो महामहिम श्री३युक्त मेकलाट- (*sic*)
नसाहबबहादर गरीवपरवर[2] = — — आशिष:
आश्चर्य्यमेतत्खलु भूमौ सांप्रतं समनुभूतम्
नहि स्पार्शमणिं संस्पृश्य लोहपदार्थोनुभूयते
कुत्रापि केनचित्सुव(ब)र्णं सुव(ब)र्णमनुजायते तन्-
संपर्कात्किल नहि करिणि दृष्टे चीत्कारेण
तमनुमिमतेऽनुमातार: प्रत्यक्ष-परिकलितं
नानुमीयते तस्मादत्रस्थितोप्यहं दिवानिशं
संदेह्य (ह्मि) कि[3] (*sic*) सुतरां विभुमणे किंच एकाम-
सिद्धिं पर(रि)हरतो द्वितीयापरोरितिन्यायस्सब-
ल: । अत:परं स्वदेहेन स्वदेशं गच्छामि
इति निश्चित्येदं निवेद्यते मया न कस्यापि
दोष: दुषधातोरिवास्माकं दोषसंपत्त-
ये गुणा:[4] सुखदु:खस्य न कोपि परो दाता
यदि पुनरपि सद्य: परीक्षां संपाद्य
कार्योद्योग: कार्य्यते चेत्तत्प्रार्थनमपि मदीयम्
शास्त्रज्ञातृपु युष्मासु वर्वर्तु अन्येतु युष्मा
कं समाज्ञां प्रार्थयंति तस्मादत्रभवंत: प्र-
माणं नु कृतमेतत् किल

संवत १८ श्रीनेकारामशर्मा वावद(दी)ति शुभं भूयात्सर्वत:
[ ] ९० मितीत्थं[5] द्वितीयभाद्रवदि ८ शनौ शुभद[।]

16

KENARAM SHARMA TO MACNAUGHTEN

(*OR* 5 Oct. 1833)

परमेश्वरो जयतितराम्

महामहिमाशेषशास्त्रविशारद गुणिगणाग्रगण्य धन्यमान्यतम श्रीलश्रीउलियम हे मेकनाटन्साहेवसमीपेषु श्रीकेनारामदेवशर्म्मण: सविनयपुर:सरनिवेदन-

मिदम् अधीतव्याकरणा-

दिधर्मशास्त्रान्तेन मया प्रायशश्चिरकालं स्वर्गीय जान् राइक्रेष्टवेष्ट[1] सा-
हेवानुकम्पया तत्पाण्डित्यकर्मणैवावश्यपोष्यप्रतिपालनं कृतं ततोऽस्मा-
कम् सौभाग्यवशात्तस्मिन्नूद्र्ध्वलोके प्राप्ते निरालंवे(बे)न च प्रसिद्धैकूजामि-
नेषन्कमिटाध्यक्षपरीक्षकवृन्दारकवृन्दसमीपे परीक्षां दत्वा श्रीमतां
भवतां च स्वाक्षरितं प्रशंसापत्रमेकं प्राप्याद्याप्यसहायेन प्राप्तं न-
किंचित्फलं अतोऽधुना केवलं भवत: साहाय्यं प्रार्थ्यते चेत्श्रीमत: सहाय-
तामवलंव्य(ब्य) यत्किंचिद्राजकीयं कर्म्म प्राप्यते तदा तेनैव श्रीमतां
सुतरामत्यंतयशोवृद्धिर्भविष्यत्येवेति पुलाक: ॥०॥ ॥०॥ ॥०॥ ॥०॥
क्रीणीष्व मज्जीवनमेवपण्यं अन्यं नचेदस्ति तवास्तिपुन्यं (ण्यम्) ।
प्राणेशदातर्यदि तेन दातुं यशोऽपि तावत्प्रभवामि गातुम् ॥

श्रीकेनारामदेवशर्म्मण: ।

17

KENARAM SHARMA TO MCNAUGHTEN
(*OR* 12 Oct. 1833)

गी : श्रीजयतितराम्

महामहिमवर विशेषगुणाकरदुष्टदण्डधरशिष्टशान्तिकर-
श्रीलश्रीउलियम हे मेकनाटन्साहेवास्मत्प्रतिपालकेषु
स्वर्गीयजानराइक्केष्टवेष्टसाहेवपण्डितस्य श्रीकेनाराम देवशर्म्मणो
विनतिपूर्व्वकावेदनमिदम् वर्त्तमानमासीपविंशतितमदिने शनिवासरे
श्रीमत: समीपे मयैकं प्रशंसापत्रसम्मीलितं निवेदन[1]पत्रं दत्तं संप्रति तद-
नुग्रहोत्तरं तत्प्रशंसापत्रंचोभयं प्राथ्यर्ते येनाहंकृतार्थो भविष्यामीति ।।
अस्मिनस्य[2] (*sic*)सप्तविंशतिदिवसीया लिपिरियम्

On the right Margin:
श्रीकेनारामदेवशर्म्मण:
संमतमिदं निवेदनपत्रम् ।।

18

LEGAL OPINION ENCLOSED WITH A PETITION FROM AMBARAM SHASTRI AND LAKSHMI BAYI

(*OR* 29 Nov. 1834)

दायादरहितस्यापि ब्राह्मणस्य धनं राज्ञा कदाचिदपि न ग्राह्यमिति रा-
जकर्त्तव्यप्रकरणे मनुस्मृतौ मिताक्षरायामन्यत्र च स्पष्टमेव लिखित-
मिति ।। जीवत: पुत्रं पौत्रं धा रक्षितममृतेस्य वा वेदशास्त्रज्ञस्य राज्ञा औरस-
सपुत्रवत्प्रतिपाल्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य धनं न कदाचिदपि ग्राह्यमितिवेदशा-
स्त्रत: सिद्धमेवेति स्पष्टं । तथा हि मिताक्षरादौ मनु: । अहार्यं ब्राह्मण-द्रव्यं
राज्ञा नित्यमिति स्थितिरित्यादि[1] । श्रुतवृत्ते वि(विं)दित्वास्य वृत्तिं धर्म्यां प्रक-
ल्पयेत् संरक्षेत् सवतश्चैनं पिता पुत्रमिवौरसम् स रक्ष्यमाणो राज्ञायं
कुरुते धर्ममन्वहम् ।। तेनायुर्वर्धते राज्ञो द्रविणं राष्ट्रमेव च[2] । अराजके
हि लोकेस्मिन सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् । रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृज-
त् प्रभु: । इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च । चंद्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव
मात्रा निहृत्य शाश्वती: । यस्मादेषां सुरेंद्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृप: ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येव सर्वभूतानि तेजसा । तपत्यादित्यवच्चैव चक्षूंषि
च मनांसि च । न चैनं भुवि शक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् । सोऽग्निर्भव-
ति वायुश्च सोर्क: सोम: स धर्मराट् । स कुवेर: स वरुण: स महेंद्र: प्रभा-
वत:[3] । तप: परंकृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमे-
कं कलौ युगे[4] । स्वदत्तात् द्विगुणं पुण्यं पर[र] क्षानुपालनात् । दानपालनयो
र्मध्ये दानात्श्रेयोनुपालनं दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं प-
दम् । बालदायादिकं रिक्थं तावद्राज्ञानुपालयेत् । यावत्स स्यात् समावृ-
त्तो यावच्चातीतशैशव[5] इति

19

LEGAL OPINION OF BENARES PANDITS ON CHARKHARI SUCCESSION

(*OR* 29 Nov. 1835)

श्रीराम:

जगद्राजसिंहाभिधस्य[1] राज्ञस्सकाशाच्चत्वार:[2] पुत्रास्सेनापतिसिंह-[3] पहाड[4] सिंहकेहरी[5]सिंहकीरतसिंहाभिधा बभूवु: एकस्य कीरतसिंह-[6]स्य ज्येष्ठभार्यायामुत्पन्नास्त्रय: पुत्रा: ज्येष्ठ: षुमानसिंहो[7] मध्यम : पृथ्वीसिंह: कनिष्ठो धुन्धसिंह[8]स्तेषु मध्यम: पृथ्वीसिंहो विभक्तो ज्येष्ठकनिष्ठौ षुमानसिंहधुन्धसिंहावविभक्तावभूताम् तत्र ज्येष्ठस्य विजयबहादुरसिंह:[9] पुत्र: कनिष्ठस्य लक्ष्मणसिंह: पुत्र: विजयबहादुरसिंहस्य विवाहितायां त्रय: पुत्रा ईश्वरीसिंह-पूरणमल-गोविन्ददासाभिधा[10] उत्पन्नास्तेचानपत्या: स्वजनकाग्रे मृता: ॥

अविवाहितस्त्रियां दास्यामुत्पन्नो रणजित्सिंह: पारशवपुत्र: विजयबहादुरपितृव्यजभ्रातृलक्ष्मणसिंहस्य खेदसिंह:[11] पुत्र: ॥ विजयबहादुरपारशवपुत्ररणजितसिंहस्य रतनसिंह: पुत्र: ॥ तत्र विजयबहादुरे मृते तत्पितृव्यजभ्रातृपुत्रखेदसिंहतत्पारशवपुत्रपुत्ररतनसिंहयो: सतो: परम्परागताविभक्तराज्ये कोधिकारीति प्रश्ने ॥ उत्तरम् ॥ अविवाहितस्त्रियादासीत्वेन तस्यामुत्पन्नस्य रणजित्सिंहस्य तत्पुत्रस्य रतनसिंहस्य च नाधिकार: । अत्रोपष्टम्भकानि वचनानि "क्रयक्रीता तु या नारी न सा पत्नी विधीयते ॥ न सा दैवे न सा पित्रे (त्र्ये) दासीं तां कवयो विदु[11]"रिति अत्र क्रयक्रीतेति सुरतार्थं द्रव्यादि दत्वा परिणयं विनावरुद्धा । ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्रापुत्रो न रिक्थभागिति मनु:[12] ।" पूर्ववचने क्रयक्रीताया दासीत्वाभिधानादपरिणीता सर्वापि शुद्रैव "शुद्र्यां द्विजातिभिर्जातो न भूमेर्भागमर्हतीति[13] देवलेन परिणीतदास्यामप्युत्पन्नस्य भूमावनधिकाराभिधानादपरिणीतोत्पन्नस्य सुतरामनधिकाराभिधानाच्च न राज्याधिकारो रतनसिंहस्य" किञ्च "जातो पि दास्यां शूद्रेण कामतो-

शहरो भवेदिति[14] याज्ञ्यवल्क्यवचने शूद्रग्रहणाद्द्विजातिभिर्दास्यामुत्प-
न्नः पित्रिच्छयाप्यंशं न लभते कृत्स्नधनग्रहणन्तु दूरापास्तमिति वीर-
मित्रोदयमुद्राक्षरपुस्तके[15] द्विनवत्यधिकशततम १९२ पत्रान्ते स्फु-
टमभिधानाद्विवाहं प्रक्रम्य चतुस्त्रिद्व्येकभागाः स्युरित्यादिवचनै-[16]
र्याज्ञवल्क्यादिभिर्भागबोधनादुद्वाहाभावेसजातीयायामप्युत्पन्नान्नां (नां)
पुत्राणां भागाभावस्य सूचनादेतादृकपुत्रपौत्रयोः कैरपि ग्रन्थका-
रैर्भागालेखाच्च नाधिकारो रतनसिंहस्य जीवनमात्रे एवाधिकारः त-
था च मदनरत्नधृतवृहस्पतिवचनम्[17]। "अनपत्यस्य शुश्रूषुर्गुणवान् शू-
द्रयोनिजः लभेताजीवनं शेषं सपिण्डाः समवाप्नुयुरिति" गौतमश्च[18]
शूद्रापुत्रोप्यनपत्यस्य शुश्रूषुश्चेल्लभते वृत्तिमूलमंतेवासिविधिनेति
आभ्यां वचनाभ्यां विभक्तस्यापि धनग्रहणे ऽपरिणीतदासीजस्यानधि-
कारेण सपिण्डस्यैवाधिकारेणाविभक्ते तु सर्वथा सपिण्डाधिका-
रो बोध्यते" किञ्च "स पारयन्नेव शवस्तस्मात् पारशवः स्मृत" इति
मनु-[19]ना दास्यामुत्पादितस्य सुतस्य जीवच्छवत्तार्थकपारशवसञ्ज्ञाभि-
धानाद्यथाशवस्य नाधिकारो धने तथा शवकल्पस्य जीवतोपि दासी-
जस्य नाधिकार इति बोधनान्न रतनसिंहस्य राज्याधिकार किन्तु खे-
द सिंहस्यैवेति सकलधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धसम्मतिः
सम्मतोऽयमर्थईश्वरदत्तशर्म्मपण्डितानाम् सम्मति प्राड्विवाक शाल-
ग्राम पण्डितस्य

सम्मतिरेतदर्थेऽष्टपुत्रोपा-
ह्वकाशीनाथ शास्त्रिणः
वदन्त्येनमर्थं नारा-
यणशास्त्रिणः

सम्मतिरत्रार्थे विट्ठलशास्त्रिणाम्
सममान्ययमर्थस्पुकुलोपाह्वोमाराव-
शर्म्मपण्डितैः
अत्रार्थेसम्मतिश्चतुर्वेद-
हीरानन्दशर्म पण्डितस्य

20

RANA SHARDAR SINGH OF UDAIPUR TO PANDITARAJA SRI RANGANATHA OF NEPAL

(OR 1839 No Date)

श्रीरामो[1] विजयते

श्री ऐकलिँगजी[2]

॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलगुणगणालङ्कृतपण्डितराजश्रीरङ्गनाथ-[3]
॥ गुरुवर्य्येषु श्रीमदुदयपत्तनतो महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीश-
॥ रदारसिंहदेवानां[4] नतिपूर्व्वकं पत्रमिदं समुल्लसतु । शमत्रश्री-
॥ मत् - - - - कृपया श्रीमतां तदेधमानमाशास्महे अपरञ्च श्री-
॥ मतामाशीर्वादपत्रमागतं वृत्तान्तास्त्ववगता: श्रीमन्तोऽस्माकं
॥ शुभचिन्तका: सन्ति ॥ अन्यच्च तत्रतो जमादारवंशराज जमादार-
॥ प्रीतमसिंह शुबाकृष्णनारायणमल्लाश्चोपायनं गृहित्वा ऽत्राग-
॥ तास्तन्महाराजाधिराज महाराणाश्रीजवानसिंहनृपवर्य्याग्रे[5]
॥ निवेदयित्वा स्थितं पश्चादितोप्याज्ञाजाता ते तत्राऽगत्यात्रत्यं
॥ वृत्तान्तं प्रकटीकरिष्यन्ति किमधिकमधिकज्ञेष्वलं पल्लविते (*sic*)
॥ संवत् १८९५ आशोज[6]शुद तृतीयायां[7] कृतोऽयं लेख:

(*In another hand*) कार्त्तिककृष्णद्वितीया[8]

On the cover

पंडितराजश्रीरंगनाथगुरुवर्य्येष्विदम्पत्रम्

21

RANA SHARDAR SINGH OF UDAIPUR TO MAHARAJA RAJENDRA SRI VIKRAMA SHAH OF NEPAL

(*OR* 1839 No Date)

।। श्रीरामो विजयते

राम एकलिंग

।। स्वस्ति श्रीश[1]पदपङ्कजसेवनावाप्तसकलमनोरथानां सह-
।। स्रांशुवंशाभरणानां श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्री-
।। शरदारसिंहनृपवर्य्याणां ।। स्वस्ति श्रीमत्पशुपतीश्वर[2]चर-
।। णोपासनप्रसादलब्धातिविक्रमोपार्जितारिविजययशस्तोम-
।। सोमोज्वलीकृताखिलहरिदन्तरालजनजेगीयमानसच्चरि-
।। त्रोदयेषु मन्वाद्युपदेशोपलब्धातिशयप्रकाशनयार्कप्रसारदूरी-
।। कृतदुर्ज्जनादितिमिरघटावृन्दानन्दितप्राज्यप्रजावर्गेषु।। महा
।। राजराजेन्द्रश्रीविक्रमसाहवर्म्मसु[3] ।। श्री - - स्मरणपूर्वकोदन्त-
।। निवेदकोयं वर्णचरस्समुल्लसतुतराम् शमत्र श्रीमत् - - - -
।। कृपया श्रीभाजां तदेधमानमाशास्महे ।। अपरञ्च श्रीमत्प्रेषितज-
।। मादारवंशराजजमादारप्रीतमसिंहशोवाकृष्णनारायणमल्ला-
।। श्चोपायनं गृहि(ही)त्वा ऽत्रागतास्तन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीज-
।। वानसिंह नृपवर्य्याग्रे निवेदयित्वाऽत्रस्थितम् पश्चात्तत्रागन्तु-
।। माज्ञा दत्ता ते तत्रागत्याऽत्रत्यं वृत्तान्तं प्रकटीकरिष्यन्ति श्रीमन्तो
।। ऽस्मद्वंश्या[4] सन्त्यतोऽत्रत्यतत्रत्यव्यवहार एक एवावधारणीय-
।। नितरां पत्र प्रेषणेनानन्दनीया वयम् ।। अन्ये समाचारास्तु महेता[5]-
।। रामसिंहपत्रादवगन्तव्याः किमधिकमधिकज्ञेष्वलं पल्लवितेन
।। संवत् १८९५ कार्त्तिककृष्णाद्वितीयायांकृतोयं लेखः—

22

VERSE BY JADUNATHA PANDITA

(*OR* 1842 No Date)

नवचन्द्रोदयप्रख्यश्रागमोरितमोहर: भवतां सु-
खदो भूयात्स्वीयानाङ्कान्तिवृद्धिभि: १ यदुना-
थपण्डितस्याशीपद्यमेतत्

23

LEGAL OPINION ENCLOSED WITH A PETITION FROM TAI SAHIBA AND BAYA SAHIBA

(OR 18 July 1853)

अथौरसपुत्रशब्दो विचार्यते ।। औरसपुत्र इति विशिष्ट समाख्याने विशेषणीभूतऔरसशब्दस्तद्धितान्तः स्वजन्यमपत्यमात्रं ब्रूते ।। पुत्रशब्दश्चापत्यमात्रपर इति तु सार्वजनीनम् ।। प्रमाणानि चापि पुत्र [शब्दस्य] तथात्वे ।। तत्र कोशः[1] ।। आत्मजस्तनयः सूनुः सुतः पुत्रःस्त्रियां त्वमी ।। आहुर्दुहितरं सर्व इति ।। कोशार्थस्तु । अमी आत्मजादयः पुत्रांताः शब्दा अपत्यार्थवाचकाः ।। अपत्यगतस्त्रीत्वरूपार्थ विशेषविवक्षायां स्त्रीलिंगे भवंति ।। तदात्मजा तनयासूनुः पुत्रीति प्रयोक्तव्यं ।। तदविवक्षायां त्वात्मज इति ।। जनयद्बहुपुत्राणि मा च दुःखं लभेत्कचिदिति बह्वृचशाखाखिलम्[2] ।। बहुपुत्राणि । बह्वपत्यानि जनयंतीत्वमिति खिलार्थः न चात्र क्लीवापत्यविवक्षास्ति ।। किंतूभयविधापत्यमेव विवक्षितम् ।। तेनापत्यसामान्यार्थकः क्लीवे प्रयुज्यते ।। पुंविशेषविवक्षायां तु पुंसि पुत्र इति ।। भवति च सामान्यार्थकानाम् क्लीबे प्रयोगः ।। अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः ।। मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायंभुवो ब्रवीदिति मनुः[3] ।। मिथुनानां द्विविधानां पुंस्त्रीरूपाणां ।। स्त्रीपुंसौ मिथुनं द्वंद्वमिति को-[4] शात् । मन्वर्थविवरणं[5] निरुक्तं वेदांगं च[6] ।। मिथुनाः पुत्रा दायादा भवंतीति । ननु च प्राकृतानामनार्याणां पुंस्यपत्ये एव पुत्रशब्दप्रयोगदर्शनात्पुत्रशब्दस्य विशेषार्थकत्वमेवेति चेत् न ।। पुत्रशब्दविषये आर्यानार्यव्यवहारस्याप्युभयविधाप-[त्ये] प्रयोगदर्शनमित्याश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र[7]वृत्तिविरोधात् । वृत्तिग्रंथस्तु ।। लोके दुहितरि पुत्रशब्दं प्रयुंजाना दृश्यंते एहि पुत्रेतीति ।। नह्यत्र लोकोनामानार्यव्यवहाराद् ते कश्चिदस्ति

तेन व्यवहारे पि पुत्रशब्दस्योभयविधापत्यार्थकत्वमेवेति सुस्थम् ।। पुत्रशब्दः कन्यायां नास्तीति न भ्रमितव्यमिति व्याक-[8] रणकौमुदीव्याख्यायां मनोरमायामपि[9] स्पष्टमुक्तं पुत्रशब्दस्य स्त्र्यपत्यार्थकतेति ।। एवमनेकप्रमाणविचारितः पुत्रशब्दः पुमपत्यं स्त्र्यपत्यमिति द्विविधार्थक इति निर्विवादम् तेन पुमान्पुत्रस्त्रीपुत्रश्चेति द्वावौरसपुत्रपदवाच्याविति ।।

24

PETITION OF VISVANATH DIKSHIT TO LORD DALHOUSIE

(*OR* 3 June 1854)

श्री

|| श्रीमदद्वैतसच्चिदानंदकूटस्थपरमात्मभजनावाप्त पृथ्वीशत्वानेकराजन्य-
शिरःकि- ||
|| रीटमणिनीराजितचरणकमलसार्वभौमलाट साहेबाभिधगौरांड[1] मुख्यकिल-
किला[2]- ||
|| नगरस्थसंतप्रभुवर्यवर्यविषयेषु पाश्चात्यदेशांतर्गगौतअलवरा[3]धिपमहाराज-
रावरा- ||
|| जा[4] (*sic*) विनयसिंह[5]नृपवरमुख्याश्रितपंडितविश्वनाथदीक्षित[6]अग्निहोत्री-
विरचितानं- ||
|| तप्रार्थना विलसंतु अत्रत्य शं तयाब्द[7]ज्येष्ठकृष्ण[8]चन्द्रवासरावधिकीकट[9]-
विषयांतःपातिगयायां साग्निहो- ||
|| त्रसच्छात्रसपरिवाराः स्थितिं कृतवंतः स्म सांप्रतं प्रभुसन्निधौ निवेदनीयां-
शस्तु वयं तु यात्रार्थं श्रीमहा-
|| राजतः आज्ञां समादाय अर्गलापुरमार्गेण[10] प्रयागमागत्य तत्र कतिचिद्दि-
नान्युषित्वा ततः काशीं समा-
|| गत्य तत्रापि वासं कृत्वा ततो गयागमनसमये मार्गे गयातः पंचक्रोशपरि-
मितपश्चिमदेशे राजामो- ||
|| दनारायणसिंहग्रामे[11] तत्रत्य आपणस्थहीरालालवणिजाहूतस्तद्धट्टे मौल्यं
नियम्य प्रतिदिनवत्भोज- ||
|| नादिव्यवहारं कृत्वा वासं विधाय रात्रौ स्वापसमये ग्रामस्य चौरा आगत्य
मदीयमुद्राभरणादीनि गृहीत्वा ||
|| गमनसमये अस्मदीयब्राह्मणस्तु जागृतः (*sic*) सन् चौरजानू धृतवान्
तदानीं चौरस्तु ब्राह्मणशिरसि श- ||
|| स्त्रं[12] हत्योरसि लत्ताप्रहारं[13] कृत्वा मूर्च्छितः ततः सर्वे उत्थिता मदीयाः
दीपानयन विषये यत्ने कृते तदा- ||

|| नीं तद्वीथिस्था: सर्वे स्वस्वभवने वार्त्तालापंकुर्वंति तथापि चौरा गच्छं ति
गच्छन्तीत्युक्तेपि केचन नागता:
|| [अ]थच कपाटोद्धाटनं कृत्वा दीपोपि न दत्त: अनंतरं ह्दस्वामिन(नो) अपि
आह्वानं कृतं सोपि नागत: त-
|| [त:**** आ]ह्वानं कृतं सतु किंचिदवकाशं कृत्वा आगत्य प्रकाशं
कृत्वा प्रेक्षणसमये मूर्च्छितब्राह्म- ||
|| [णस्य चेतना]दिकं विधाय पदार्थदर्शने कृते तत्रत्य स्वर्णमौक्तिकरजत-
रत्नस्वर्णरजतमुद्राव- ||
|| [ ]सहस्रचतुष्टयपरिमितविषयं संगृहीत्वागता: तेन
प्रहरकेण बरकंदाज[14]पद- ||
|| [वाच्यं ? पंचानपुर[15] ?]त [:] कथयित्वा आनीतं उभावपि आगत्य
तत्स्थलनिरीक्षणसमये अज्ञात्वा स्थितं ||

[*On the left margin*]

पंचानपुराख्यं प्राप्य प [ ]

[*2nd Sheet Recto*]

|| चौरस्य लोहमयं पदार्थ,चतुष्टयं मिलितं एकं शस्त्रं द्वितीयं कर्तरिपद-
वाच्यं[16] तृतीयं चिमटापदवाच्यं[17] च- ||
|| तुर्थं कुंजीपदवाच्यं[18] तत्र कुंजीपंचदश सर्वं दृष्ट्वा तदानीं ताभ्यां एते विषया:
गृहस्वामिन एवेत्युक्त्वा तत्का-
|| ले यद्गृहं निरुद्धं द्वितीयदिने क्रोशद्वयोपरिस्थितटकारि[19]नगरत:
जमादार[20]पदवाच्यस्त्वागत्य इतस्ततो-
|| वलोक्य द्वित्रिसकाशात् किंचिल्लेखनं कारयित्वा सर्वान् प्रति स्वस्वगृहं प्रति
गतंव्यमिति आज्ञा दत्ता ततो
|| वयं पंचानपुरत: गयां समागत्य मजिष्ट्र[21]साहेबनिकटे विज्ञप्तिपत्रं दत्तं
तद्गृहीत्वा दृष्ट्वा च किमपि नोक्त- ||
|| रितं ततो दशपंचदिनानि तूष्णीं स्थित्वा पुन विज्ञप्तिपत्रं अस्मदभिप्रायकं
दत्तं दृष्ट्वा भवद्भिरेव चौरा ||

|| अन्वेषणीया: अस्माभि: किं कर्त्तव्यमिति आज्ञा दत्ता ततोपि इतस्तत[:]
विंशद्दि(तिदि)नपर्यंतमटनं कृत्वा किं- ||

|| चिद्गंधं प्राप्य पुनर्विज्ञप्तिपत्रं दत्तं यत्र अस्मत्संदेहस्तद्गृहशोधनं
कार्यमिति अधिकारिभ्यो(भ्य) आज्ञा देये- ||

|| ति तदनुरूपतया आज्ञा दत्ता द्वितीयदिने अधिकारिसाकं एकस्य
द्यूतसक्तस्य गृहं गत्वा अन्वेषण- ||

|| समये मदीयचौरापहृतवस्त्वन्तर्गतकंचुकं मिलितं तं द्यूतसक्तं च गृहीत्वा
ठाणा[22]पदवाच्यस्थाने ||

|| आगत्य तत्रत्य अधिकारिणा स पृष्टे त्वद्गृहे कथमागत वस्त्वेतत् तदा
तेन पंचानपुरग्रामे एते य-

|| द्भट्टे वासं कृतवंत: तद्भट्टस्वामिनैव दत्तमिति लिखित्वा स साक्षिकं
संतुष्टेन मनसा दत्तं तृती-

|| यदिने मजिष्टरसाहेबनिकटे आगत: स पृष्टे परोपदिष्ट: स: इतस्ततो
वृत्तं अन्यदेव निवेद्य स्व- ||

|| कीयवृत्तिमाच्छाद्य अधिकारिभ्यो द्रव्यं दत्वा गृहं गंतव्यमिति प्रभ्वाज्ञां
'लध्वा (लब्ध्वा) गतवान् तन्मिलि-

|| तकंचुकमस्मभ्यं दत्तं एवमेव अग्रेपि अन्वेषणं कार्यमिति आज्ञा दत्ता
वर्तते एवं च राजैव एता-

|| दृश: सन् चौरपक्षपातं कृत्वा स्थित श्चेत्पांथानां प्रजानां च का गति:किं
च राज्ञ: दुष्टनिग्रहमं-

|| तरा प्रजापालनं न संभवति तदुक्तं मिताक्षरायां व्यवहाराध्याये ||
व्यवहारान्नृप: पश्येदित्युक्त्वा[23]

|| श्रुताध्ययनसंपन्ना धर्मज्ञा: सत्यवादिन: || राज्ञा सभासद: कार्या रिपौ मित्रे
च ये समा:[24] रागाल्लो-

|| भाद्भयाद्वापि स्मृत्यपेतादिकारिण: सभ्या: पृथकपृथक दंड्या विवादाद्-
द्विगुणं दमं[25] अतो अवश्यमे-

|| व इमे पूर्वोक्तहेतुमत्त्वात् दंडार्हा एव अथच ग्राहकै(कैर्) गृह्यते चौरो
लोप्त्रेणाथ पदेन वा पूर्वकर्मा [प-]

(2nd Sheet Verso)

|| राधी च तथा चाशुद्धवासक[26] इत्यादिग्रंथेन चौरान्वेषणं चौरदंडनं तदपहृतद्रव्यदापनं साहसस्तेयपारु[ष्यमि]-
|| तिग्रंथेन[27] सद्य एव, व्यवहारदर्शनं सभापतेरेव ननु अपहृतद्रव्यकस्य कुतः मादृशस्य पांथस्य एतद्भ्र[।मे ।]
|| इमे चौरा इमे शिष्टा इति बोधाजननात् अत्रत्यएतावद्विचारलेखने तव कोधिकारः वर्त्तते इति पृष्टे
|| मम अधिकारो नास्त्येव तथापि भृत्याकीर्त्तिः प्रभोरेव इति मत्वा अत्रत्या ये शास्त्रविरुद्धं कुर्वंति त-
|| त्सर्वं प्रभुष्वेवारोपयंति तद्विषये श्रीमत्प्रभूणां दोषगंधोपि नास्ति केवलं धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेणैव
|| व्यवहारश्चालनीय इति सर्वेषामाज्ञा दत्ता एतद्विषये ममानुभव एव पूर्वं राजानः इतरेण निधौ
|| लब्धे तं भर्त्सइ(यि)त्वा स्वयमेव गृहीतार आसन् अधुना तद्विषये कटाक्षलेशोपि न अथच यस्य या-
|| दृश दंडः कार्यः तेन कोट्या(ट्य)वधिमुद्रां दत्वा तादृशं दंडं परिहर्तुमशक्तः एवं प्रभुनिकटे नीति [:] डिंडि-
|| मायते अस्मदीयगतद्रव्यविषये दुर्दृष्टांस्तुपुनर्दृष्टा(ष्ट्वा) व्यवहारान्नृपेण तु सभ्याः सजयिनो दंड्या
|| विवादाद्वि (र्द्वि) गुणंदमम्[28] एतावद्रीत्या श्रीमत्प्रभुवर्यैः कृपां कृत्वा सर्वं मनस्यानीय अत्रत्यसभापतिना-
|| स्मा त्रातितेपहृते दोषो ग्रामभर्त्तुरवीतके विवीतभर्त्तुस्तु पथि चौरोद्धर्तु-रवीतके[29] स्तेयप्रक-
|| रणांतर्गतमिताक्षरास्मृत्यनुसारेण चौरान्वेषणपूर्वकंधनदापनं ग्रामभर्त्तुः सकाशात्का-
|| र्यं चौरस्याप्राप्तौ तु गतधनं दापितव्यमिति आज्ञापत्रं प्रेषइ(यि)त्वा चौरापहृतद्रव्यप्राप्तिर्यथा
|| स्यात्तथाकर्त्तव्यतायां प्रभव एव ॥ अभिज्ञप्रभुवर्येषु वहुलेखनेनालं ॥

भाषायां वस्तुनामानि

६१२ गोठ जोडी[30] २ तो ३६ १ १७[31]
२०४ पाटली जोडा १ १२[32]
६८ कंगण्या जोडी २ तो ४[33]
१०२ हसुली छोटी तो—६[34]
२२१ सरी १ तो १३[35]
६८ विंदलि जोडा तो ४[36]

1st Sheet, Verso

[ ] हरी तो १
[ ] ३० तो २०
[ ] लका तो ३
[अं] गुठी ३
[हर का] अंगुठी ३
[इ] मानि रत्नखचितसुवर्णवस्तूनि

३०० मोहर जयपुरी २० द १ १५[37]
७५ महाराज शाशार मोहर ५[38]
१६ मोहर लखनी[39]
५॥ पुतली ३[40]
७० टिकली तो ५[41]
१२॥ गोश्रृंग माला [42]१०
३४ केतक तो २[43]
१७ राखडी १[44]
१७ माथे का फूल १[45]
२५॥ गाठलि तो १[46]
२०२४[47] नथ मोती व हीरा
वाली १
१५० काप जोडी[48]
१०४ मोती का दाणा विनावोय[49]
२० नीळ १०[50]
फा० ८

(*Col* 2)

२० पुष्पराग ३०[51]
२८ सातफुली मोती[52]
५० भोकरा जोडी ३[53]
२१६ चौकडा जोडी ३[54]
२३ कटोरी २ तुकड [55]
५ चमच्या ३[56]
६ पेला ३[57]

(*Col* 3)

५ पोंहची ४[58]
५ कडा जोडा ४[59]
५० तोडा जोडा ५०[60]
१४ बिछया जोडा ५[61]
७ मासोळा जोडा ३[62]
५० बाली झुमका जोडा[63]
५ पिल्ली जोडी ४[64]
३ फुलपावक १[65]
३२ घुंघुरु जोड़ी १[66]
८ तुकडा चांदि १[67]
२४० नगद[68]
इमानि केवलं रजतमयानि वस्तूनि

कंचुकत्रयं स्त्रियः
एका मंजुषा पित्तलमयी तन्मध्ये
आभर(ण)वंधनवस्त्राणि
मुद्राभरणवस्त्राणि

On the Cover

लिफापायाम् श्रीसार्वभौमलाटसाहेबकलकत्तामहा[राजधान्याम्]

*

25

LEGAL TEXTS CITED BY MURARI OF GURUDASPUR

(*OR* 17 Feb. 1855)

(१)

श्रीरस्तु

: धर्म्मोनियति

देशादिभेदेनापि विभागमाहु कल्पतरुरत्नाकरयो:[1] कात्यायन: देशस्य जाते: संघस्य धर्म्मो ग्रामस्य यो भृगु: उदित: स्यात्स तेनैव दायभागं प्रकल्पयेत् भृगुराहेतिशेष: श्रीरघुनाथनंदनभट्टाचार्य्यविरचिते[2] व्यवहारतत्वेस्फुटैषा व्यवस्था

(२)

अतएव व्यासो यथाह[3] समानजातिसंख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सुनव: विभिन्नमातृकास्तेषां मातृभाग: प्रशस्यते बृहस्पतिरपि यद्येकजाता वहव: समानाजातिसंख्यया सापत्नास्तैर्विभक्तव्यं मातृभागेन धर्मत इति अत्रजातिसंख्ययासाम्ये सापत्नानामपिभागविशेष: स्वरूपकृतो नास्तीति मातृभागत्वविधानं मातृप्राधान्यपरमेवेति नायं पुत्राणां विभाग: किन्तु तन्मातृणामित्युद्दिश्य विभाग: कर्त्तव्य इत्यत्र नान्यत्र[4] तात्पर्य्यम् तेनेतरमातृधन इवात्रापि मातृजीवने पुत्राणान्न(णांप) रस्परम्विभागो धर्म्य: यतो (अतो) गौतमाद्युक्ताविभागे धर्म्मवृद्धिरपि मात्रुपरमएव वेदितव्येति जीमूतवाहन[5] आह तत् पितृधने मात्रभावापेक्षायां अदृष्टार्थत्वापते:(त्ते:)प्रागेव निरस्त[म्] इति[6] वीरमित्रोदय(ये) व्यासबृहस्पत(ति)गोतमवचनानी[ति] शुभम्

SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS
(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT 1

The prosperous Viśveśvara of Kāśi is (more and more) victorious.

The prosperous Rāmachandra is victorious.

May the sun god protect (us). Prosperity.

Prosperity :—By one who is sonless a son of the same caste should be adopted according to the form prescribed by scriptures, even though he may have a brother's son (living), as enjoined by the (following) Vedic text on exclusion from heaven : "He who is without a son has no place in heaven." According to the code of Atri, "Only by the sonless a substitute for a son should without fail be accepted from anyone (he may like) with a view to ensuring the offer of funeral cake and water (on his death)." "The learned selected (these) as substitutes of sons in order to safeguard the continuance of funeral oblations." This is also according to Manu. But since the expression 'only by the sonless' in the legal code of Atri suggests that he who has 'already' a son has no right (of adoption) and since, again, the following text of Manu, "If one among several brothers born of the same (mother) gets a son the rest are also declared by Manu as having become fathers through that son" implies that the person under discussion is to be considered father of a son by virtue of his having a brother's son, it may be questioned what right such a person has to adopt a son. (Our reply is that) he would certainly be without any right if the aforesaid text of Manu really establishes the (exact) identity (of the nephew) with a son. The case however is otherwise. For the author of the *Mitākshară*, the *Hemādri*, the *Madanaratna*, as well as the authors of the *Vīramitrodaya* and the *Mayūkha* and other writers of juridical works have explained the passage as implying that the adoption of a brother's son is commendable

and that the latter is entitled to perform the obsequial oblation of his father's brother even as he performs his own father's. As regards the claim of a brother's son who has not been adopted as a son to the status of a son and to succession to the legacy of one who is without a son, such a claim is barred being in conflict with the order of succession contemplated by the ascetic Yājñavalkya, under which he has been allotted the fifth place, as will be found in the following text, "First wife, then daughters, then parents, then brothers and subsequent to that brother's sons." Further, the following text of Vṛiddha-parāśara "To one who is sonless his brother's son should behave as a son; it is he who shall perform the duties of offering funeral cakes and oblations," makes it obligatory on the part of a brother's son to perform the obsequial rite of his father's brothers in the same way as he does it in his father's case, but does not establish his claim to the status of a son (in other respects). As Parāśara himself in a subsequent passage has stated, "a brother's son should perform the *pārvaṇa-Śrāddha* even as a natural-born son; having put him in place of (his) father he should pronounce the (names of) the remaining two as before." Therefore, it is clear that since a brother's son cannot attain the status of a natural born son without being duly adopted, the person under discussion, on failure of male issues, is entitled to take an adopted son. The adoption, as a son, of a brother's son or other collaterals is valid provided there is an abnormal situation, there subsists mutual goodwill between the donor and the donee, the adoptee is not a first born nor is the donor the father of either one son or two sons. Unless these conditions are fulfilled such a course is invalid, as it is prohibited by all treatises including the *Mitāksharā*. On this point Manu as quoted in the *Mitāksharā* states as follows: "that (boy) equal (by caste) whom his mother or his father with affection gives (confirming the gift) with (a libation of) water, in times of distress (to a man) as his son, must be considered as an adopted son. The use of the expression "in times of distress" implies that no (son) can be given away unless there is distress. The use of the expression 'affection' is intended to prevent donation through fear, greed, etc. So the gifts should not take

place in the absence of mutual goodwill (between the parties) nor should an only son be given away since the Vasishṭha Smṛiti enjoins that "none shall give or receive (in adoption) an only son." The Śaunaka Smṛiti also enjoins that "under no circumstances shall a person who has only one son give away that son (in adoption). Only a father having many sons is permitted to give away one of them with zeal." Nor shall a person who has only two sons make a (similar gift; for, as regards the question of acceptability of (such) gifts from fathers of two sons the above quoted Śaunaka text, containing as it does a prohibition in respect of fathers having one male issue, disallows also (such) gifts from a father of two sons by virtue of the meaning implied in the expression "only a father having many sons etc." Śāntanu in his speech to Bhīshma also says "a man with one son is no better than one who is sonless. One eye is as good as no eye, for if it is lost one becomes blind." Then again the eldest son should not be given away, even inspite of the presence of many sons, for, according to the following text he (the eldest) is fittest to perform the duties of a son:—"By the birth of the first born a man becomes the father of a male issue."

It is established therefore that when it is not possible to adopt a brother's son on the ground that none of the aforesaid conditions can be satisfied, it will be permissible to adopt any other person as a son. For Śaunaka says "Brāhmaṇas should procure a son from among their collaterals. Failing them they should adopt one who is not a collateral. But they should not seek a son among other (castes)." Moreover, the adopted son being the only one among all the non-body-born sons whose status has been recognised in the Kali age he alone is entitled not only to offer funeral cakes but also to inherit a share (in the paternal property).

The above opinion is endorsed by Nandapaṇḍita. Dharmādhikārin.

The above opinion is endorsed by Bhāirāma Bhaṭṭa bearing the surname Bhāradvāja.

The above opinion is endorsed by Gaṅgārāma bearing the surname Josi.

The above opinion is endorsed by Beṇīmādhava Pāṭhaka.

The above interpretation of law is endorsed by Kṛipānātha Deva.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Vīreśvara having the surname Gavhara (Gahvara?)

Appāśāstrin endorses the above interpretaion.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Baijanātha Bhaṭṭa with the surname Ḍhobala.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Dīnānātha Deva.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Guṇeśwara Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Bhavāniśaṅkara bearing the surname Ṭhākura.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Kṛipākṛishṇa Yājñika.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Rājārāma bearing the surname Ardhamaṇa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Raṅganātha Śāstrin.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Jagannātha Miśra.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Govinda bearing the surname Puṇyastambhakara.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Ātmārāmabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Paurāṇika.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Anantarāmabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Brijanāthabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Dādamabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

The above decision is endorsed by Meghanātha Deva.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Śesha Harirāma.

By Govindarāma Paṇḍita bearing the surname Śesha the above interpretation is endorsed.

The above decision is endorsed by Nīlakaṇṭha Śarman bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

Nānā Pāṭhaka endorses the above interpretation.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Bhāradvāja Sītārāma Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Rāmachandra Paṇḍita bearing the surname Daśaputra.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Bhairava Dīkshita, surnamed Tilaka.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Gaḍegila Bhīshma Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Raṅganātha Dīkshita.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Baijanatha Dīkshita bearing the surname Drōṇa.

DOCUMENT 2

This memorandum is drawn up on (this day, being) Friday the sixth *tithi* in the bright fortnight in (the month of) Karttika, in the 1844th year of Vikrama (equivalent to) the Śaka year 1709. We, the inhabitants as well as outsiders settled at Vārāṇasī do (hereby) declare with truth and sincerity that we feel happy and satisfied on account of several (good) things originating from the generous and enlightened policy (administration) of the illustrious noble Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General. Among these things the first (to be mentioned) is the pain he took to populate as well as to promote the well-being of the city of *Viśveśvara*, the most holy place for all the four castes belonging to the entire country.

Secondly, he has settled us under his jurisdiction with both honour and happiness.

Thirdly, frightened by the high-handedness of the *gaṅgāputras* few pilgrims previously used to visit this city. But now that those misdeeds have been suppressed and all other obstructions removed pilgrims are pouring in the city in large numbers from all provinces in view of the unprecedented facilities afforded for their religious rites.

Fourthly, he appointed as Magistrate Nawab 'Ali Ibrahim Khan, efficient, upright and well-versed in law, for the maintenance of law and order and administration of justice in the City of Vārāṇasī. In the proclamation of his appointment, an appointment justified by the resulting happiness and comfort that have accrued to the whole population of the locality, it was ordained that Brāhmaṇa scholars should be appointed for deciding the suits preferred by the four castes and Muslim divines for (deciding) those preferred by others. The said Magistrate having efficiently checked the exactions of bribes and (undue) fines by his subordinate officers has conferred on the people more happiness than enjoyed by them even under the rule of Raja Balavanta Siṃha and Cheta Siṃha.

Fifthly, on the occasion of an assemblage of the enlightened people of the locality which took place during the second visit of the illustrious governor Mr. Hastings, he charmed everybody by his elegant and delightful conversation, by his conduct characterised by unfathomable charity and by his deeds and thoughts which were solely devoted to rewarding and patronising the people according to their merits.

Sixthly, to our great delight, he caused a music gallery to be built at his own expense at the gateway of the illustrious *Viśveśara* temple the crest-jewel of all the holy places.

Seventhly, he never deviated from the principles essential to good government nor cast a look of greed (towards anybody) nor did he ever wish any ill to anybody.

Thus do we truthfully testify to the wise and charitable policy followed by Mr. Hastings, Jalādat Jang (brave in war). The fame of the (English) King and the Company, pervading as it does all the quarters like autumn moonlight, is ever alive through the length and breadth of (their) far-flung and firmly established empire. And all of us, who are living in comfort, offer our prayers for the prosperity of the extensive and well-administered empire of the King and the Company, who are a veritable repository of never-failing kindness.

Signatories :—

Nīlkanṭh Bhaṭ[1]
Bireśwar Śesh[2]
Atmā Rām Kāle[3]
Bālam Bhaṭ Kāule[4]

[1] Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa. See NOTES, DOCUMENT I. NO. 30.

[2] Is he identical with' "Bireshwar Sheth, Professor of the large Vyakarana of Panini and the Bhasya of the Rigveda" referred to by Nicholl in his *History of Benares College* ? (See also INTRODUCTION to DOCUMENT 8). In that case he must have been a Maharashtra Brahman for.

[3] Kāle is obviously a Marathi surname.

[4] Bālam Bhaṭṭa Kaule—Is he the famous Bālambhaṭṭa, author of Vyavahāra Bālambhaṭṭi (*Lakshmīvyākhyānam*)? The latter is known to have flourished between 1730 and 1820 (See Kane

Bhairon (Bhairav) Dīchhit (Dīkshit)[5]
Megh Nāth Dev[6]
Śambhū Dev Dev
Jairām Bhaṭ[7]
Jaganāth Bhaṭ Śukul
Baijnāth Bhaṭ Kavimaṇḍan[8]
Jaganāth Misr[9]
Gangā Rām Kārīkal[10]
Rāmchandra Bhaṭ Koṭkar[11]
Atmā Rām Purānik[12]
Bhaṭ Gangā Rām Jaṛi[13]

History of Dharmasastra, I, p. 462) and must have been living in Benares at this date. He was a pupil of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, and was in 1800 appointed by Colebrooke as his Pandit. One difficulty in accepting the identification is that Bālambhaṭṭa the jurist bore the surname Payaguṇḍa whereas his namesake of the present document is surnamed Kaule. He is certainly not to be identified with Bālambhaṭṭa Bhāradvāja whose name occurs among the signatories to the Sanskrit address presented by the Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1797. (Gode, Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits, *Journal of the Tanjore S. M. Library, Vol II*, no 1 p.3). The name of latter will be found further down in the list (see Note 14 *infra*)

[5] Bhairava Dīkshita? Perhaps identical with signatory No. 28 of DOCUMENT 1.

[6] Meghanāth Dev—identical with signatory no. 21 of DOCUMENT 1.

[7] Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa—To be identified probably with 'Jayarama Bhatta Professor of Yajurveda' the 35th signatory to the Sanskrit address presented by the Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1796 (Gode, *Op. cit*, p. 2)

[8] Is he the same as Vaijanātha Bhaṭṭa of DOCUMENT 1?.

[9] Jagannātha Miśra—His name occurs also among the signatories to DOCUMENT 1.

[10] Karikal is it a mistake for the surname Karlekar?

[11] Evidently the same as "Ramachandra Surnamed Kotakara" of the document referred to in Note 4 above. The surname Kotkar is still in use in the Deccan.

[12] Ātmārāma Paurāṇika—Probably identical with signatory No. 17 of DOCUMENT-1.

[13] Jaṛi—Evidently a copyist's mistake for Jaḍe which is still in use as a surname in the Deccan.

Somnāth Bhaṭ Navitānkar (?)
Bhūdev Misr
Bhairon (Bhairav) Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Bālam Bhaṭ Bhāradwāj[14]
Guneśwar Bhaṭ[15]
Bābā Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Bālkishan Dīchhit (Dīkshit) Mahājan[16]
Dādam Bhaṭ[17]
Kishan Bhaṭ Ārarī[18]
Sakhā Rām Bhaṭ[19]
Jogeśwar Bhaṭ
Harīkishan Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Bābū Dīchhit (Dīkshit) Ayāchak (?)[20]
Rāmkishan Tipāṭhī (Tripāṭhī)
Udaya Śankar Paṇḍit
Annā Śāstrī
Shadāśiv Bhaṭ
Bālmukund Bhaṭ Khole (?)[21]

[14] Same as the 40th signatory to the Sanskrit address referred to in note 4 above.

[15] Guṇeśvara Bhaṭṭa—Same as the signatory No. 10 of DOCUMENT 1.

[16] Mahājan is a well known Deccanese surname.

[17] Dādam Bhaṭṭa—Same as "Dādam Bhaṭṭa surnamed Bhaṭṭa" of DOCUMENT 1 and the 5th signatory to the address referred to in Note 4 above.

[18] There is one Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa among the signatories to the Sanskrit address referred to in Note 4 above, but it is difficult to say whether he is the same as Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa Arari of the present document.

[19] Evidently the same as 'Sakhārām Bhaṭṭa surnamed Laghatya' of the address referred to in Note 4 above.

[20] The name of one 'Bāpu Deeksheeta surnamed Drona' occurs among the signatories to the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to in Note 4 above. He is however surnamed Drona, whereas his namesake of the present document bears the surname Ayāchaka.

[21] Bālamukunda Bhaṭṭa Khole—Probably identical with 'Bala Mookoonda" (44th signatory) of the Sanskrit address referred to in the preceding note. Khole may be a mistake for the surname *Ghule*.

Bālkishan Dīchhit (Dīkshit)[22]
Sītā Rām Bhaṭ Purānik
Paṇḍit Nānā Pāṭhak[23]
Bālkishan Kārīkal
Mani Rām Bhaṭ Sadābratī[24]
Baijnāth Bhaṭ Nāgrāj
Prem Śankar
Anant Rām Bhaṭ Lachhmī Dhar
Śambhūjī Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Udayakishan Tevāri
Lachhmīdhar Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Lachhman Vyās
Ballabh Jī
Śivdullabh(durlabh) Jī Gopāl Jī
Jaikishan Pāṭhak
Ānand Rām Anant Rām
Mayānāth Paṇḍā
Sadākishan Jānī (?)
Paṇḍā Nand Rām
Mukund Rām Śukul
Kalyānjī Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Mūlnāth Rudarjī (Rudrajī ?)
Dube Keval Kishan
Śiv Prān Jīvan
Tevārī Bishan Dev[25]
Banvāri Kānh Dev
Bāwan Kishan
Dube Ganpat Jī

[22] Bālakṛishṇa Dīkshit—Probably identical with "Bala Krishna Deeksheeta," surnamed "Ayacheeta" of the Sanskrit address referred to in the preceding note.

[23] Paṇḍit Nānā Pāthak—See Notes, DOCUMENT 1, no. 31.

[24] Probably Mani Rām Bhaṭṭa, who according to Ali Ibrahim Khan witnessed a trial by ordeal held in Benares under his administration. See his contribution on the subject of Trial by Ordeal (*Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 983)

[25] Tevari is equivalent to the modern surname Tewari (Trivedi). Bishan Dev is evidently a corruption of Vishṇu Deva.

Dube Bishnu Rām
Sūraj Kishan
Tevārī Kishan Ballabh
Borā Gangā Rām
Borā Bíshnu Rām
Paṇḍiā Kalyānjī
Tevārī Motilāl
Dube Kānh Jī
Anand Rām Śukul
Rām Datt
Keval Kishan Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Dīnā Nāth[26]
Rām Kishan Bhaṭ Kholę (?)[27]
Anant Rām Bhaṭ[28]
Mahīdhar Dharam Adhikārī[29]
Bālmukund Aṭarī[30]
Hari Bhaṭ Dhoble
Vāsudev Bhaṭ Gurjar[31]
Śivrām Bhaṭ Ghosi (?)[32]
Jagannāth Dharamadhikāri
Anant Rām Bhaṭ Paṭwardhan
Vināyak Bhaṭ Moni (Mauni ?)
Kirpā Krishan Jākak (Yājñik)[33]

[26] Perhaps identical with Dīnānāthadeva of DOCUMENT I (*See* Notes, p. 129, no. 17).

[27] Rāmakṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa Ghule ? He is probably to be identified with "Rāma Krishṇa surnamed Ghoola" of the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to in Note 4 above.

[28] Probably to bei dentified with Anantarāma Bhaṭṭa of DOCUMENT I (Notes, p. 129, no. 25).

[29] Read *Dharmādhikarin*. On the surname Dharmādhikarin see Notes, DOCUMENT I, no. 14.

[30] May be identical with 'Bāla Mookoonda', signatory no. 44 to the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to in Note 4 above.

[31] Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭa Gurjara may be the same as 'Vasoo Deva Goorjaras' of the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to above.

[32] Sivarāma Bhaṭṭa Ghoshi is probably identical with 'Seeva Rama Ghose' of the Sanskrit address of 1797, referred to above.

[33] Kṛipa Kṛishna Yājñika—to be identified with 'Kripa Krishna Sarma Yajneeka' of the Sanskrit address of 1797 and Kṛipā Kṛishṇa Yāñjika of DOCUMENT I,

Śiv Lāl Pāṭhak
Lachhman Bhaṭ
Babrūpājha (Babhrūpādhyāya) Sāstrī
Bhavānī Śankar Ṭhākur[34]
Jogeśwar Śāstrī
Meghā Pat Joshī
Ganeś Bhaṭ Śārangpānī (Śārṅgapāṇi)
Śivbhadra Pāṭhak[35]
Sūrajrām Jānī
Ārat Rām Dullabh (durlabh) Rām
Gobind Rām Śiv Dat
Benī Rām Borā
Narsijī Moreśwar
Mohan Lāl Murlidhar
Dube Chranjīv Ichhāśaṅka
Dev Karan Bakht Rām
Gaurī Śankar Wārāchand
Nānhā Parameśwar
Kamlā Kiran Achleśwar
Dube Bināth (*sic*) Rām
Rāmeshvar Bikran (Vikram ?)
Kāśi Rām Ratiśvar
Rati Rām Śanmukhrām
Vidyādhar Udaikiran
Dube 'Izzat Rām Lajjā Rām
Sudhāreśvar 'Izzat Rām
Dayā Dhar Dīnā Nāth
Dayānāth Bishnu
Kothā (?) Sātvik (Sattvik) Krishn Dayāl[36]
Varādhar (Bratadhar) Mangleśvar
Revā Dās
Jatīneśvar (Yatīndreśvar ?)

[34] Bhāvanī Śaṅkara Ṭhākura—identical with signatory No. 11 of DOCUMENT 1, and 45th signatory to the Sanskrit Address of 1797.

[35] Sivabhadra Pāṭhaka—Same as "Seeva Bhadra Pathaka" the 63rd. signatory to the Sanskrit address of 1797.

[36] Is Kothā a mistransliteration of *Kotakar*?

Ambā Śankar Bijai Sankar
Lāladhar Rube (Rūp?) Rām
Kāśīrām
Kāśī Rām Śiv Śankar
Jāni Revā Dat Bihārī Lāl
Sūraj Rām Mansā Rām
Nānā Moghā
Govind Rām Nirvankeśvar (Nirvaneśvar?)
Iśvarjī Lakhojī
Jānī Anand Rām Sārath Rām
Jagat Rām 'Izzat Rām
Mūkeśvar
Rasik Lāl Brijlāl
Dayānand Karnākiran
Rām Dat Sarvankeśvar (?)
Sanmukh Rām Uttam Rām
Durgā Śankar Dayā Rām
Bijai Rām Chāsan Rām
Bālmukund Śankar Vallabh
Chandreśvar
Hirākiran Motī Kiran
Bishunāth Chhā Gopī Nāth (Viśvanath Jha ?)
Jatiśvar Lachhmī Iśvar
Prem Śankar
Mehta Gopāl Kishan
Ambā Rām Vyās
Krishnjī Joshī
Rām Chandra Vyās
Banwārī Viśeśwar
Dūbe Sūraj Jī
Tivārī Ratan Jī
Tivārī Ambā Rām
Ganpat Joshī
Jadūpat Joshī
Panḍia Mahādev
Bidyā (Vidyā) Dhar Vaid
Rājā Rām Keval Rām

Dev Dat Bhaṭ
Vidyā Nand Joshī
Babreśvar (Bapreśvar ?)
Mīṭṭhā Rām Bhaṭ
Ojhā Rām Kishan
Tivārī Baijnāth
Dūbe Chaturbhuj
Dūbe Dev Rām
Ojhā Rādhe Kishan
Ambā Śankar Jālī
Ānand Rām Vyās
Mansā Rām
Raghunāth Gopāl
Dīchhit (Dīkshit) Gopālji
Dīchhit (Dīkshit) Harī Kishan
Sūraj Dat Śukul
Jīvan Rām Dūbe
Krishan Dev Dīchhit (Dīkshit)[37]
Gopāl Dev
Chitreśvar Bhaṭ
Parbhū Dev Vyās
Śiv Śankar Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Nārāin Dev
Kirpā Sankar Dīchhit (Dīkshit)
Gokul Nāth Dīchhit (Dīkshit)

[37] Kṛishṇa Deva Dīkshit is probably identical with "Krishna deeksheeta Deva Sarma" the 25th signatory to the Sanskrit address of 1796 referred to in Note 7 above.

DOCUMENT 3

This is the submission of people settled in Vārāṇasī as well as of pilgrims from various provinces to the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England and the prosperous Company. We are living here richly blessed by the favour and patronage of the illustrious Governor-General and chief among men, Hastings (1). Secondly, as long as the said ruler resided in this country, he endeavoured in many ways for the promotion of our well-being and for the maintenance of our honour (2). Again, people came from all quarters and settled here when they learnt of the great happiness of us, who reside here in security, thanks to that ruler's (Mr. Hastings') favour, and of the suppression of the evil-doers. (3). Further, having considered the propriety of appointing a magistrate who is intelligent, well versed in all the sciences, god-fearing, devoid of greed and competent to adjust the cause between the followers of the Vedic religion according to the Dharma-Śāstras and between the Muslims in conformity with their laws, for the protection of the honest and the chastisement of the dishonest, the illustrious ruler, who is known by the name of Hastings, gave the appointment to the illustrious Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, who fulfilled all these requirements and was a veritable ocean of virtues, in consequence whereof, we are being governed much better than under the former Raja (4). Further when the said ruler came to this city, all who went to see him were received with respect according to their ranks. (5). Further, in order to obtain eternal prosperity in a fitting manner through the grace of the Supreme Lord, the said ruler provided for daily (play of) music in an elegantly fashioned stone edifice built for the purpose at a considerable expense near the gate of the Lord's temple (6). So long as he resided in this country he cherished us in every way like his children. In no respect did he cause us any loss. We are on that account ever living in happiness. By these (deeds) the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England,

the protector and sole refuge of the poor as well as the Company have gained great reputation. We are also daily offering our blessings. This is the submission of the inhabitants of the holy city.

Signatories :—

Kṛipārām Tarka-siddhānta
Govindarām Nyāyapanchan(Pañchānan)
Rāmarām Siddhānta
Kāśirām Chāṭjia (Chaṭṭopādhyāya)
Prāṇ Kṛīshṇa Śarmā
Śyām Vidyāvāgīś
Kṛishṇamangal Śarmā
Kṛishṇa Chandra Sārvabhauma
Yugal Kiśor N(V)andopādhyāya
Kṛishṇa Chandra Mukhjiā (Mukhopādhyāya)
Rāmlochan Mukhjiā (Mukhopādhyāya)
Dulāl Nyāyālaṅkār
Balarām Vāchaspati
Sadānanda Tarka Vāgiś
Sivnāth Tarkaboś (bhūshaṇ)
Ānanda Chandra Bhaṭṭāchār
Rāmcharan Vidyāvāgīś
Kāśināth Maithil
Gaṅgārām Panchan(Pañchānan ?)
Rām Prasād N(V)andyopādhyāya
Rāmsundar Rāi
Vagaleśvar Panchān(an ?)
Kāliprasād Bhaṭṭāchārj(ya)
Gaṅgādhar Vidyāvāgīś
Krishṇānanda Vidyālaṅkār
Rāmcharan Chakravartī
Haridev Tarkabaos (bhūshaṇ)
Rāmchandra Vidyālaṅkār
Rāmrām Bakshī
Balarām Bhaṭṭācharj(ya)
Rudrarām Sarkār

Bhavānīcharan Sarkār
Rāmśaṅkar N(V)andyopādhyāya
Chandra Śaṅkar Vidyāvāgīś
Śivaprasād Vāchaspati
Kāliprasād Siddhānta
Śivnārāyan N(V)andyopādhyāya
Darpanārāyan Bhaṭṭāchārj(ya)
Gokul Kishan Vidyālaṅkār
Ramākānta Vidyālankār
Rāmnāth Śarmā
Chandicharan Śarmā
Lakshman Vidyāvāgīś
Ramākānta Vidyālaṅkār
Gangārām Panchān(an?)
Lakshmīnārāyan Śarmā
Kriśnānanda Sārvabhauma
Khelārām Śarmā
Trilok Chandra Gānguli
Rāmrām Śarmā
Rāmji(van?) Ganguli
Kāliprasād Sarmā
Jagmohan Mukhojiā (Mukhopādhyāya)
Śobhānāth Śarmā
Rāmdās Śarmā
Kṛisṇarām Sārvabhauma
Jaykishan Śarmā
Jayaśaṅkar Śarmā
Parmānanda Gānguli
Nayanānanda Śarmā
Śambhūnāth N(V)andyopādhyāya
Jayanarāyan Ghoshāl
Bhavāniśankar Śarmā
Gangāhari N(V)andyopādhyāya
Rāmsantos Chaṭjiā (Chaṭṭopādhyāya)
Viśvanāth Chaṭjiā (Chaṭṭopādhyāya)
Rāmrām Siddhānta
Jagannāth Rāi

Mānikchandra Śarmā
Gangādhar Vidyāvāgīś
Rāmmohan Bhaṭṭācharya
Rāmbhadra Nyāyalaṅkār
Jaydev Śarmā
Jagannāth Śarmā
Kāśināth Śarmā
Devnārāyan Śarmā
Gopālśaṅkar Panchānan
Laksmīnārāyan Nyāyavāgīś
Kṛisṇadev Chaṭṭjia
Yugalmohan Śarmā
Biśannāth G(h)osh
Raghunāt(h) Pālṭha (Pālit)
Kāliprasād Sarkār
Bhairavcharan Śīl
Santos Singh
Rāmnārāyan Śīl
Rāmsundar Sāyin
Rāmmohan Pālṭha (Pālit)
Prānkṛishna Pālṭha (Pālit)
Kṛishṇamohan Dās
Rāmśankar Bose
Rāmharī Dās
Rāmnidhī Dās
Haricharan Malik
Brijkishor Ghosh
Kāliprasād Śarmā
Kāliśaṅkar Śarmā
Kāliprasād Śarmā
Kevalrām Bhaṭṭāchārya
Prānnāth Ṭhākur
Rāmcharan Banojia (Vandyopādhyáya)
Nīlmaṇi Ṭhākur
Chaitan(ya) charan Ṭhākur
Harikishan Baid
Bishṇuśaṅkar Dīcchit (Dīkshit)

Mannu Dīkshit
Rāmnāth Dīkshit
Viśvanāth Miśr(a)
Vaidyanāth Nārāyan Miśra
Aushān Miśra
Kālīdās Siddhānta.

DOCUMENT 4.

Prosperous Hari

The Prosperous Lord of the world is victorious.

Be it well. May the good wishes of the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmanta Gosvāminī Śrī Mahārājñī shed lustre on the great Governor Lord Cornwallis, the sunlike splendour of whose terrible and firmly consolidated power is scorching the faces of his enemy's wives. Be it known that our heart, refreshed as it is by viewing your glory which is a veritable flower garden, and nourished as it is by the honey emitting from the many blessings showered (on you) by God, has become full with joy. For, the illustrious, even when they live at a distance, cause happiness to all hearts as they would have done had they been close by. However, even those who are allied in a temporal way are accustomed to correspond with each other. It is strange, therefore, that although we are solicitous for the well-being of the whole world and are bound (to you) by a spiritual tie of friendship, you who are a veritable tree of justice, which by its able protection sustains the whole mankind, do not now even care to address (*lit.* do not even half-address) any of those letters which, with your own seal impressed on them, used regularly to flow (to us). Just as the flower sends out the sweetness contained within its core, do you also ever gladden our heart by regularly sending us letters decorated with scripts expressing your welfare. Further particulars may kindly be learnt from Lālā Mayārāma's letter. What more?

May this letter be fixed on the hand of His Excellency Lord Cornwallis the Governor.

Seal:—Śri Bālakṛishna is victorious.
This is the seal of
Mahārāṇī Bahujīkā.

DOCUMENT 5.

Prosperity.

Hail! May the multitudinous blessings of Kaṃhnaradāsa shed brilliant lustre on the five times blessed Sir John Shore, who is prosperous, is an ornament to the whole orb of the earth, is shining among the society of learned men, is the gladdener of the hearts of all people and who by the river of his established reputation has whitened all the limitless horizons; who is an embellishment to the society of the most distinguished scholars whom he has overcome by pleasant polite behaviour and in discourses on diverse sciences[1]; who is generous to the extent of making excessive charities from his treasury abounding in gold and radiant with the brilliant gems of the diadems (wrested) from the heads of numerous mighty kings overpowered by his uncommon prowess, augmented (as it is) by the magnitude of his supremely profound wisdom; who is the abode of a host of virtues and is the upholder of religion; who is the receptacle of the glory derived from the destruction of the hosts of his numerous terrible enemies who suddenly waxed powerful by the valour of his more formidable cavalry, elephantry, chariots and infantry; whose gateways have been rendered auspicious by the golden (images of) elephants, horses and palanquins presented to him by the ministers and other officials who adorn the highest societies in the world.

Verses

Peace prevails here; O ocean of compassion, I pray night and day for the welfare of your Excellency (and even) while taking my ablution in the waters of the celestial stream. (1)

May all the gods well-worshipped (as they are by me) protect you who are an expert in the governance of people, who are the only refugee of the learned and who are a master of statesmanship. (2)

[1] This is no empty compliment. Sir John Shore succeeded Sir William Jones as the president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 22 May, 1794 and well might he be called a *vidvajjana-goshthyalaṅkāra*. (See *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*, Vol. I). For his literary contributions to the Society see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, 307-22, 283- 7, Vol. IV, 331-350.

(Among) the succession of kings who have flourished from the time of King Vikramārka down to the present day, in no instance have we heard of such a matchless maxim of administration, (a maxim) synonymous with artless freedom from avarice, as is observed in your case, O lord of the earth, O master, the only source (lit. bulb) of the delight of the entire mankind! (3)

Victory to Sir John Shore, the monarch whose unparalleled fame is (ever) expanding; who is the wish-yielding vessel which satisfies all desires; who is the lion to the elephant-herd that his enemies are; around whose feet the crest-jewels of the (subject) chiefs are waved in adoration; who is equal to the moon which delights the *chakora*-like eyes of the meritorious; (4)

Who is the foremost among the leading victors; who is a fire for (the cremation of) his formidable foes; whose palms have the colour of the parrot's beak; who is marked for a sublime destiny; (and) by whom all suitors are satisfied and who is like a wreath on the heads of all the rulers of the earth. (5)

I beg now to submit my case personally to Your Excellency. This is as follows:—

The city called Gwalior is my home, Kaṁhnaradāsa my name, and twenty-six years my age. There dwells near (the temple of) Vṛiddhakāleśvara in Dārānagara in the Prosperous Vārāṇasī the illustrious Mānakumārī, the holy preceptress of Raja Cheta Siṃha's mother. At present I am lodging in her house. Three years did I pass in my own place, four in the town of Sihuṃḍā and nine in Vārāṇasī studying each day with great assiduity the religious texts. Lately my eyes have been affected by some malady, in consequence whereof I am unable to glance over the texts studied before or to make further studies. After (even) half an hour's writing and an hour's reading water starts streaming out of my eyes and severe pain is caused in the head. I got myself medically treated according to my means, but owing to indigence I cannot now continue (further) treatment. Hence, grave anxieties have arisen in me as to what will happen to me and who will sustain me. It is gathered from the sacred texts that it is the King who maintains the learned, the destitute and the distressed. Thus is written in the *Śrimad-*

Bhāgavata: "The supreme duty of the king is to relieve the misery of the distressed." The recompense accruing to the observers of this duty has been (thus) described by Lord Kṛishṇa himself in the last part of the tenth section. Many like Hariśchandra, Rantideva, Uñchavṛitti (the gleaner), Śibi, Bali, the fowler and the pigeon attained the eternal state by (sacrificing) the ephemeral (body). Elucidation of the above is this: The paramount monarch, Hariśchandra, reached heaven with the entire population of Ayodhyā because, for the satisfaction of a suitor's need he sold away his wife and offspring and all his belongings, and remained unmoved even when reduced to the position of a chaṇḍāla's slave. King Rantideva attained to the Brahmaloka (Brahman's heaven) because he had given away to a beggar whatever food and drink he had with great exertions been able to find although he and his family had been without (even a drink of) water for forty-eight days. Mudgala, who lived on gleanings entered the Celestial World for having performed the rites of hospitality although his family had been living under great privation for six months (continuously). Śibi, King of the Uśīnara country, departed to heaven for having given his own flesh to the hawk with a view to saving (the life of) a pigeon who had taken refuge under him. After having extended his conquest to the Celestial World, the paramount king, Bali, presented every thing he had to Hari masquerading as a Brāhmaṇa and (thereby) made that god his own. The cock-pigeon also went with his hen to heaven in a celestial car for having offered his own flesh to the hunter who was his guest. Many people likewise attained the world of the immortals by the sacrifice of the mortal body. But no more. Such rulers as are inclined to take pity on the poor and the helpless, are however very rare these days. The people of this place, the great and the learned as well as the poor and the distressed who have been rendered happy by you are ever reciting the fame of Your Excellency in every thoroughfare, at every door and in every house and even on the banks of the celestial river thus:— The paramount ruler, Sir John Shore, who is the God of Justice incarnate in the Company's abode, is munificent and an afforder of protection. Therefore, esteemed ruler, you ought to write to

some European (officer) in Vārāṇasī so that he may make provision for my food and raiment and arrange for the treatment of my eyes. If my eyes are cured I shall complete (my studies of) the sacred texts in five years and wherever I may go I shall continue to send my blessings to Your Excellency and sing your eulogies. If per chance, the ailments are not cured I shall spend all my life at Kāśi and ever meditate on Your Excellency's welfare. Although, O illustrious ruler, I do not happen to be acquainted with your Excellency in any way whatsoever, yet, being apprised of Your Excellency's generous disposition towards the indigent I am addressing this humble petition (with the hope) that you may show kindness (to me) in all manners. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

Wide-spread indeed, O great ruler, is your fame. Who is the mortal[2] who can recount it in full?[3]

[2] The word '*udaraṃbhari*' is usually used to denote a 'gourmand.' But here it seems to have been used in its *yaugika* sense, meaning 'that which fills its stomach (with food), *i. e.* 'an animal', 'a mortal.'

[3] Literally, 'write it out.'

DOCUMENT 6.

Prosperity.

Hail! May the abundant blessings of Kaṃhṅaradāsa find excessive delight in the five times blessed Sir John Shore, the absolute sovereign, who is prosperous and is an ornament to the whole of terrestrial globe; who has destroyed a multitude of hostile chiefs in course of his worthily achieved world-conquest; who is the very image of the sun who has caused to bloom the lotus in the shape of the assembly of scholars; whose moonlike fame, (the eulogy of) which is chanted by the worthy people captivated by the very high reputation secured by the observance of excellent rules of conduct, has illuminated by its rays the three worlds.

Verses.

One who has lighted up the faces of the horizons with his sun-like prowess which is manifested by (his) having robbed the young wives of the enemy kings of the vermillion mark (on their forehead); (he) who is auspicious in all his limbs who is the crest-jewel of all the good kings, who is the abode of virtue, generosity, conscientiousness and fortitude; (1)

Who is excellent because of the reputation which his measureless qualities have established; who entertains crowds of living beings by his daily distribution (of charities); by whom the world has been bathed in the lustre of his very bright fame which is like a lotus; who has surpassed (even) Veṇu by his proficiency in statecraft and who is resplendent because of the music played on flutes[1] (in his honour); May he be ever victorious. (2)

My submission is that a humble petition was sent by me to the presence of the illustrious one on the 8th day[2] of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. (1)

[1] The meaning is not at all happy. The other alternative would be to follow the author of the *Vaijayanti* and to take the word 'Veṇu' to mean the 'Vedas.' In that case the expression should be rendered as 'resplendent because of the chanting of the Vedas', hardly an improvement.

[2] 7th November, 1796.

Having looked into it the illustrious and merciful protector of the people despatched a note to Vārāṇasī with the object of providing an allowance for me (*lit.* ordering the grant of an allowance to me). (2)

All the pandits of Vārāṇasī who were in charge of the College were apprised of the allowance (sanctioned) for me. (3)

Thereafter, on Thursday the 7th day[3] of the bright half of the month of Pausha you arrived to adorn the city of Vārāṇasī. (4)

On that occasion, a great longing arose in me for greeting you with my blessings. But as you were in a hurry to proceed westward.[4] (5)

It was decided by me that I should pay a visit to you on your return, which did not, however, materialise. (6)

I am, therefore, my Lord, again addressing a letter testifying to (my) humility, to which you ought to listen. (7)

When I came to Vārāṇasī from Gwalior I had some money with me for defraying my expenses, by reason whereof, I could continue my studies. When that money was exhausted I earned my livelihood by reciting the holy *Bhāgavata*. But ever since my eyes were afflicted I am not being able to do anything whatsoever. Even an hour's reading causes water to stream out and also causes pain in the head. The professors of the locality as well as the residents of the city are all well aware of this (fact). Engaged as I have been in offering benedictions to Your Excellency since the date when you, O illustrious monarch, were pleased to improve my affairs, I feel that it has been very proper indeed that Your Excellency provided for my advancement through the

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[3] 5th January 1797. The date is evidently wrong. Shore did not reach Benares till the evening of the 5th February, which corresponds to Sunday, the 8th day of the bright half of the month of Magha. (Shore to Speke, dated Benares 7th February—Pol. Cons, 20th February 1797, No. 68.

[4] Shore left Benares for Lucknow on the 10th February (Shore to Speke, dated Jaunpore, 12th February 1797.—Pol. Cons. 20th February 1797, No. 69.)

agency of a succession of your servants. It is written in the Holy *Bhāgavata* that the King possesses all the funds necessary for the relief of the destitute. Therefore, do I pray of you, O great ruler, who is the universal sovereign and is the veritable image of the god of justice (established) in the Company's abode, that you may by (your) blessed lips issue in my behalf, instructions to the local officers for (the grant of) a little (as allowance), by becoming a regular recipient of which I may pass my days in great enjoyment at Vārāṇasī, having (regular) baths in the celestial river and offering auspicious benedictions to Your Excellency. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

DOCUMENT 7.

Hail! May the multitudinous blessings of Kaṃhnaradāsa shine brilliantly on the five times blessed members of the (Supreme) Council, who are prosperous, and are the ornament (as it were) to the whole of the terrestrial globe; the river of whose widely-circulated fame has whitened the limitless horizons and who are an adornment to the assembly of the most distinguished scholars whom they have overcome by pleasant and polite courtesies as well as in discourses on diverse sciences. I beg to submit my case, which is as follows:—

The city of Gwalior is my home, and Kaṃhnaradāsa my name. I am now residing in Dārānagar in the Holy Vārāṇasī. I had been passing (my time) studying, night and day, the sacred texts with great assiduity but subsequently a misfortune befell me, in consequence of which great anxieties were caused. Thereupon, I came to the conclusion that an account of my distress, should be submitted to the ruler of the people. My misery and the texts justifying its representation being committed to writing were submitted to Mr. Shore, the esteemed ruler at his capital named Calcutta. Some provision was ordered for me by that Paramount ruler on his having heard of the matter, in consequence of which my welfare was secured. The ruler of the principality named Bundelkhand has since become favourably disposed towards me. Some presents have been sent by him for the illustrious Mr. Shore, from his own territories. That is lying with me. It is now heard that he (Mr. Shore) has left for his native land. Therefore, has this humble petition been addressed to the members of the Council who rightly constitute the supreme authority for deciding all doubtful points. I shall carry out whatever they may be pleased to direct. I shall forward it to them, if so they desire; otherwise I shall hand it over to some European gentleman at Vārāṇasī. My well-being was due to the sympathy of the emperor, illustrious Mr. Shore. I also pray for his prosperity day and night. Now let me do what the Hon'ble gentlemen direct. No more (need be said) to those who are almost omniscient.

DOCUMENT 8.

Your subjects ever secure under the shade of your arms sleep without fear; your enemies who wander in terror in all directions find no sleep at all. You have restored with justice on earth the long dislocated four footed bull (of Dharma). What more should I say! You surpass all monarchs of sacred memory, O Lord Mornington.

Your enemies who, spared in the battlefield by your clemency, have with routed troops fled across the seas, resigning their interest in the states, strongholds and treasures, still get bewildered daily in the morning when they see the orb of the burning-rayed one (*i. e.*, the sun) in the east confounding it with your own orb, O Lord Mornington.

DOCUMENT 9

May the Illustrious LORD, the Sovereign of the Universe, be our refuge.

May the sincerest felicitations of the entire population of this city of the Supreme one, wealthy, pious and noble, of the whole sect of the Vaishṇavas, of countless Brāhmaṇas headed by the Royal preceptor and lastly, of all the attendants of the Deity, like Kṛishṇa Chandra Mahāpātra the Chief of the thrity-six holy offices, shed brilliant lustre on the exalted (personage) Governor-General, Marquess of Wellesley, known by the following titles, "one - with- everlasting - fame" (*lit.* may - his - glory - continue) "the ruler universally accepted," "chief among all nobles" and "wielding lofty titles"; who is devoted to (the task of) bearing the burden of the earth which testifies to the (unique) virtue of worshipping his illustrious patron deity; who is the repository of a host of virtues which are being sung by numerous women, who have been turned into his chattels, in consequence of his having extinguished the splendour of the orb that his enemies are, included in the globe of the earth, itself held in fee by the exhibition of his majesty derived from the prowess of his own arms; to whom the entire world is devoted on account of the repeated recounting of his noble fame; who is the unrivalled sun that has caused to bloom the lotus that the English race is ; and who has besides taken the vow of protecting the gods, the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaishṇavas.

Supported as we are by the solicitous attention of the English power, our predominance has been established in the holy temple of our Divine Master Jagannātha partly through the grace of the Supreme Lord, the illustrious Sovereign of the Universe and partly through the desire of the esteemed ruler. It is on this account that security and comfort have come to us according to our luck. Therefore, we, the people of the holy city are ever engaged in pronouncing our benediction and we wish to send our felicitations to your lordship. Further, we cherish but this desire

that your authority over this holy city may continue in this way for ever. Previously, while pondering on your Lordship's reputation, we became convinced of (the inevitability of) your control over the holy temple from reports, discussion, the sacred texts and the trends (of current events). We are now beholding with our own eyes exactly what we foresaw. In no instance did we witness nor shall we ever discern such prowess as we saw when your forces were preparing for war and again at the time of the defeat and the expulsion of the enemies. During this period the entire population was protected by you in such a manner that not a single soul suffered even the slightest loss, and we who were employed in attending on our Lord were not even aware that a war was raging in the land. While in the previous regime we had to meet with obstruction even in the smallest matter, we enjoy happiness now in every respect under your government. Sincerely do we hope that your lordship will establish justice in the same way as it was done (of yore) by Brahmā and other gods and that having heard of the security in which our lives and properties are, thanks to the care of the British authority, people from other places like Vṛindāvana, Vārāṇasī, Rāmanātha and Dvārikā will all come to this city and having viewed the Deity will ascend to Vaikuṇṭha. And we here are praying night and day to God that the supremacy of the English power may last forever, that the Lord by placing your lordship under his lasting protection may promote your steady advancement and that, we your well-wishers, being rid of all fear (worries) under your rule may ever remain engaged in the service of the Sovereign of the Universe:—

Verses.

Such is the virtue of this city of the Supreme Being that here indulgence (of the senses) brings the same reward as asceticism, taking of meals in disregard of (caste) rules serve only to clean the stains of birth and the dust of a slave girl's feet is capable of purifying even the gods. (1)

The journey (of life) has been rendered difficult by the Vedas and the Dharma-Śāstras. In vain, oh wise men, have you pursued (your path). Of what use is this labour? On this sea-coast, beneath

the banyan tree, is available the nectar of absolute truth for any one to drink in with his eyes. (2)

(Here) The purifying food even if dropped from a dog's mouth should be eaten by Brahmā and other gods if by luck they find it. (3)

The light which flashes like lightning in the firmament of the soul of the ascetic, shines on the Blue Rock in the form of wood. (4)

Glory to the Lord of the Universe, in partaking of the leavings of whose food the bars of proximity do not operate between the (various castes) beginning with the Brāhmaṇas and ending with the dog-eaters. (5)

Where there is prosperity there is no learning; where both co-exist liberality is wanting ; If three of them nappen to occur in one place in consequence of numerous meritorious deeds (done), courtesy does not manifest itself; and where the last-named is found piety is sure to be absent. But it is in you alone, that all these shiṇe together through the grace of God. (6)

DOCUMENT 10.

This is the world-renowned coin of Yaśovanta whose heart is as the black bee (fixed) on the lotus foot of Lakshmi's lover. The King who resides in Indraprastha is the Emperor of the world. This coin which has been struck through his favour is circulating throughout the world.

In S. E. 1728.

DOCUMENT 11.

Salute to the Goddess of the perfect.

(Five) Nāgara Brāhmaṇas who maintained a joint establishment together with their uterine sister were engaged partly in government service and partly also in private business. Of them some had issues while others were issueless. Then in course of time all of them died the survivors being one brother and his wife, son of one of the (deceased) brothers and his wife, and the grandsons of the (deceased) sister. Then after sometime the son of the brother (aforesaid) went to the other world. Thereafter within a few days the (surviving) brother also died after making a stipulation to the effect that all the acts of piety or ceremonies performed by him should be performed in like manner (by his people) the cost being met from the income of the property granted to him by the king with a view to ensuring the enjoyment (of the property), (not only) for a thousand years, (but) for eternity. Among the survivors were his wife, the wife of his brotner's son and his sister's grandsons. They continued to live jointly, sharing meal and other (domestic) amenities and fulfilling faithfully the conditions imposed by him at the time of his death. Now regarding the entire property including both moveables and immoveables and consisting of the property acquired by the five brothers jointly, as well as that bestowed on one of them by the king by means of a deed of conveyance which stipulated that the entire property including both moveables and immoveables should be enjoyed by the donee even as ancestral property and that all who were his legal heirs should also enjoy it in unbroken continuity for all times, and regarding also the question of fulfilling the stipulation made by the donee, have all the survivors equal claims to inherit the property and to fulfil the covenant or should any one of them (inherit) in the absence of one of the parties concerned, or does the entire property go to the king even though all of them may be living ? This is the question which is put before the learned men of Vārāṇasī on the third day of the

dark half of the month of Jyaishṭha in the vear indicated by the digit, the sage, wealth and earth.

The reply of the learned men of Vārāṇasī. From a study of the precepts of the great sages like Manu, Vishṇu, Nārada, Bṛihaspati, Yājñavalkya quoted in the *Mitākshara*, the *Vīramitrodaya* the *Vyavahāra-Mādhavīya* and other digests it is clear that the entire property inclusive of both moveables and immoveables and consisting of his ancestors' earnings, and his own earnings as well as the gifts bestowed on one of the five brothers by means of the aforesaid deed of conveyance will devolve first on his wife, failing her on his brother's daughter-in-law and failing her on his sister's grandsons. The right to fulfil the conditions imposed by him should also be settled according to the above principle. For, the fulfilment of the conditions being exclusively dependent on the legacy it is the inheritor of the legacy who should logically fulfil them. While they are alive the king has no right, for it is known that his right accrues only when heirs of all kinds fail. As regards the property belonging to (a Brahmin) however he has no right whatsoever, the king being debarred from taking property of that description. Much less has he any right to the property of Nāgara (Brāhmaṇas) described above. In the case of the members of the Nāgara caste, although they may have no heirs, the king has no right owing to the obligation to protect their property. Moreover, the king should not violate a covenant made by him, (the deceased). On the contrary he should ensure its fulfilment. For, according to a text of Nārada quoted by the *Vyavahāra-Mādhavīya* the king should guarantee contracts.

The texts referred to are quoted below:—

"The wife, daughters, parents, brothers, brother's sons, collaterals, kinsmen, pupils, fellow-students, among these the succeeding inherit the property of a man dying without male issue, only in the absence of the preceding ones, such is the law for all castes"—this is the precept of Yājñavalkya as quoted in the *Mitākasharā*. "The wealth of a man who dies without a male issue goes to his wife; failing her to his daughter, failing her to his father, failing him to his mother, failing her to his brother, failing him to his brother's sons, failing them to *sakulyas* (descendants in the 4th to

9th degree); failing them to fellow-students, failing them to the king excepting in the case of the property being a Brāhmaṇa's.' This is what is enjoined by Vishṇu (17, 4, 8). The word 'kinsman' here stands for *sapiṇḍa*, *sagotra* and *sakulya*. This is the interpretation found in the *Vīramitrodaya*. The *Śrīmatī* which is a gloss on the aforesaid (work) gives the following comment: "Kinsmen stand for *sapiṇḍas* the latter again may be subdivided into *sagotras* and *non-sagotras*." The following text of Bṛihaspati is found in the *Vīramitrodaya*:—"In the Vedic literature, in the Smṛiti texts and in popular usage as well as by the learned the wife is regarded as one half of (a man's) body and as having equal share in the fruits of (his) good and evil deeds. Of the man whose wife is not dead, one half continues to exist, and while one half of his body is alive how can any one take (his property)? Hence in the case of a man dying without a male issue even though his father, mother, uterine brothers and *sakulyas* may be living, it is his wife who inherits his property." "Of the Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras who are sonless and have neither wives nor brothers, the property is taken by the king." The above text of Bṛihaspati denying as it does the king's title to the property of a Kshatriya and others whose wife may be living, suggests *a fortiori* the absence of his title when the question pertains to a Brāhmāṇa whose wife survives him. Here the expression 'who has neither wife nor brother' indicates the failure of all (the different kinds of legal heirs) including the fellow-students. This is the explanation found in the *Vīramitrodaya*. The following texts of Manu are quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*—"On the failure of all (heirs) the king shall take (the estate)" and "the property of the Brāhmāṇa must never be taken by the king." The same work also quotes the following text of Nārada, "The king who has regard for law (shall take the property) from a man other than a Brāhmāṇa". The following text of Yājñavalkya is also quoted in the *Mitākshara*—"Whatever be the customs, laws and family usages that may be prevailing in a country, that country when brought under subjugation should be ruled strictly in accordance with them." These very texts will also be found in

Vyavahāra-Mādhavīya. Dated the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyaishṭha in the year indicated by the digit, the sage, wealth and the earth.

The above interpretation is approved by Prabhākara Śarman having the surname Bhaṭṭa. Approval is accorded by Śrī Prāṇa-nāthāchārya to the above interpretation. This is approved by Sadāśiva Śarman bearing the surname Ghule. This interpretation is approved by Kṛishṇa Śarman bearing the surname Śesha. Tātyā Śarman Gaṇaka approves the above interpretation.

DOCUMENT 12.

Prosperity.

As regards the question, in case a rāja, not of the caste of twice-born, effects a partition with his eldest son begotten on one (of his wives) and then gets a son by another (woman lawfully) married to him and belonging to the same caste, what division of property should take place, on his demise, between the separated son and the one born after the separation, the decision of the Śāstras is that the son born after the partition will take the entire property owned by his father in his own right whether equal or unequal in value to the eldest son's share and that the eldest will retain the portion obtained by previous division whether (that is) equal or unequal in value (to that of the younger).

On this point, Manu (says,) "a son born after partition is alone entitled to the property of the father, or in case any (of the other sons) have reunited with him he shall share with them." Bṛihaspati also (says,) "when step-brothers born of different mothers or uterine brothers have come to a partition with their father those born subsequently shall take their father's share. The son born before partition has no claim to the father's property nor has the son born after partition a claim to the separated brother's property. Any property that the father may acquire subsequent to the partition with the sons will lawfully be the property of the sons who may be born after the partition. Those born before it can have no claim to it. This is the rule." Yājñavalkya (says,) "For the sons who have received any division of property whether large or small, what has been arranged by the father should be regarded as lawful." Nārada (says,) "For persons who have been allotted shares, whether equal or unequal, by their father, that (father's arrangement) should be regarded as valid. Father has control of everything." Bṛihaspati says, "Those whose shares have been settled by the father whether in equal or in unequal

lots should abide by that (division). Otherwise, they become deserving of punishment."

If there be any doubt as to the division, that which is deserving of investigation should be enquired into. Should it however be undecided the procedure is that the property is to be again divided. On this point Yājñavalkya says, "In case of a doubt arising regarding the fact of the distribution, the real nature of the distribution should be ascertained with the help of collaterals, relations, as well as witnesses and written documents, taking into consideration each house, each piece of landed property rightfully belonging to the parties. In case of a doubt arising regarding the principle of distribution, the settlement of the distribution should be made with the help of relatives, witnesses and documents but no ordeal is to be resorted to." Nārada says, "In cases of doubts regarding the principle of distribution, the settlement of inheritence etc. (should be done) by means of (an indication of the parties running) separate establishment, with the help of collaterals and documents relating to the allotment." We have it on the authority of Manu that "in case a doubt arises between the coparceners regarding distribution, it is necessary to make a fresh distribution notwithstanding that they live separately."

If it shall appear desirable to make a fresh division of property, both (sons) shall make a division of all the effects in equal portions whether inanimate or animate, moveable or immoveable, either adjusting the shares according to their mothers or per capita. This is the procedure. On this point Yājñavalkya says that "after the death of both father and mother the sons shall divide in equal shares their (parents') assets as well as liabilities." Nārada says, "Therefore shall sons divide the property of their father equally between them." Manu says "After the death of the father and the mother the sons shall assemble and divide amongst themselves in equal portions the ancestral property. They have no right (of property) as long as they are alive." Here inspite of the use of the word 'and' the simultaneous death (of both the parents) is not intended. Thus (we have) in the *Madanaratna-smṛiti-saṃgraha*, "The property of

the father may be divided even during the life-time of the mother, she having no independent power over the property in the absence of her husband." Bṛihaspati says, "When there are many sons sprung from the same father equal in caste and number, (but born of different mothers), an equitable division may be effected by adjusting the shares according to their mothers conformably to law. When however they are of the same caste but differ in number it is the per capita division which is valid." Vyāsa says, "For those who are born of one (person), are equal in caste and number, but have, different mothers, the division according to mothers is to be advocated."

Although the (allotment of) the preferential share at the time of partition after father's death is prohibited (always) in the case of the śūdras and in the case of those who are equally proficient in their work, and in the case of step brothers of the same caste in the Kaliyuga, the intention is that the king should make a special case of the eldest and make the other two (brothers) recipients of equal shares. On this point the *Tattvaśukti* says "A śūdra can have a wife of his own caste only and no other. Sons born of her, even though they number a hundred, shall be entitled to equal shares. Of the sons who are born to the twice-born and belong to the same caste the eldest shall be given a preferential share and the rest should take equal shares. There is to be no preferential share 'out of ten' if all the brothers are efficient in their occupation. Some little thing however shall be allowed the eldest as a mark of distinction." According to the *Vyavahāramayūkha* this preferential share is prohibited in the Kali age because of the text "excluding the Kali age." See also the text of Bṛihaspati quoted above which runs, "If there are many sons from the same father etc." Also the above cited texts of Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Manu which enjoin that "sons should make a partition after the death of the father etc." Manu has "That the substitute is equal to the principal is not valid according to law. The father is the principal in procreation and therefore one must give a share, conformably to law." Among the above cited texts that of *Tattvaśukti* which begins with "Some little should be given" is also authoritative. 'Alternati-

vely, partition according to the custom established locally among a caste or in a family is good law.' As Kātyāyana says "He shall settle partition of estates according to the customs which are prevalent in a tribe in a guild or in a village—Bhrigu." (Here) the implication is 'so says Bhrigu.' "Established usages whether localised in a territory or obtaining among a caste or a clan as well as village usages are (to be regarded) as valid and should be accepted provided they are not in conflict with the existing body of laws". This is the view of *Madanapārijāta.* Vaśishṭha says that "Law is that which is enjoined by Śruti and Smṛiti. Failing that the practice of wise men is authoritive." Manu says, "That land, created by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī (the sages) call Brahmāvarta The plain of the Kurus, the (country of) the Matsyas, Pañchālas, and Śūrasenakas, these (form) indeed the country of the Brahmarshis (which ranks) immediately after Brahmāvarta. From the eldest brothers born in this country all men on earth shall learn their several courses of conduct." The gist of all the texts quoted above is therefore that the judge should make a slight distinction in the case of the eldest and after that treat him as equal with the younger.

Nor can it be urged that this interpretation of law is invalid in the present case, it being corroborated only by texts bearing on the general law of inheritence. For, we do not find any texts dealing with extraordinary rules specially applicable to each (class of people) of varying character and profession like the king, executive officials, ministers, priests, physicians and learned men.

Nor there need be any apprehension that royal estates are indivisible on the ground that there are no texts bearing on its divisibility. On the contrary, it is clear from the scriptures that the division of (such) estates has been resorted to in all ages. Here is (a text) on this contrary view. "Hear now, o virtuous king, about the family of Priyavrata who after having obtained the spiritual enlightenment from Nārada and having enjoyed the earth for some time and thereafter dividing it among his sons went to the divine abode." In the *Bhāgavata*—The sons of Āgnīdhra who had by their mother's grace been fully developed in stature and

strength even at their birth, came, in consequence of a partition by their father to possess the (different) divisions of Jambudvīpa bearing their respective names, each receiving his allotted share. Similarly in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam* (we have) "Thereupon, O Brahman, did the royal sage Nīpa impart to the noble souled Bhananda instruction in the entire science of war. When he had mastered the art of war he demanded of his cousins Vasurāta and other sons of the noble Dishṭya the half share of his ancestral kingdom to which he was (legally) entitled." In the *Rāmāyaṇa* again, "Having installed the heroic Kuśa in Kosala and Lava in the Northern region, Rāma bestowed on each of the noble-souled (princes) gifts consisting of 3,000 chariots, 10,000 elephants, and 10,000 horses. Endowed with abundance of jewels and provisions and attended by an army of sturdy and cheerful men the brothers Kuśa and Lava were sent to their respective cities." These again are the words of Vidura to Dhṛitarāshtra in the 3rd canto (of the *Bhāgavata.*) :—" Restore the ancestral estate to Ajātaśatru, who has put up with your offences, and with whom there is the angrily hissing terrible snake in the form of Bṛikodara and his younger brothers of whom you are much afraid." Again in the 9th canto we have, "Nābhāga was a son of Nabhaga, to which poet, after he had returned back, his brothers restored his inheritence although he was the youngest and had been a brahmachārin."

"Pāṇḍu was a noble-souled king with world-wide renown. He was the sovereign and these his sons are entitled to the inheritence left by him. Do not continue the conflict my son, give away one half of the kingdom." "Whither Bhīshma goes Droṇa will follow. Therefore should you carry out what Bhīshma as said. Give then the one halt of the kingdom to Pāṇḍu's sons, o slayer of enemies." "How can you appropriate this kingdom, thou obstinate one, inherited by your opponents according to (rules of) succession. Having freed yourself from false vanity give away one half of the kingdom with robes of honour and riding animals." "Having returned to the sons of Pāṇḍu their rightful shares, O Bull of the Bharata's race and having (thus) allayed the distress of your friends rule your own rightful kingdom." "Do not, O son, treat with contempt the prosperity which

is eagerly embracing (you). By bestowing the half (of the kingdom) upon sons of Prithā you will attain great renown." These are the words addressed to Duryodhana by Bhīshma, Droṇa, Dhṛitarāshtra, Gāndhārī and Śrīkṛishna respectively in the Udyogaparvan. The following again are the words addressed by Arjuna to Śrīkṛīshna in the same work. "That one half of the kingdom would be ours according to the final settlement arrived at previously has been circulated to all the kings. If he restores this to us voluntarily showing us (due) respect and offering us no insult I shall be happy, O great-armed one, and they will get rid of a great hazard."

"Mahānanda's heroic son, Your Majesty, born of a śūdrā woman will be Mahāpadma Nanda, the destroyer of the kshatriyas. He will have eight sons of whom the eldest will be Sumālya and all of whom will enjoy the earth as kings for a period of hundred years." This text occurs in the twelfth canto (of the Bhāgavata).

(The matter is) to be settled with (the help of) texts establishing the fact of division of inheritance by father or by brother in respect of royal estates from the end of the Kṛita age down to the Kali age.

No need of further amplification.

Paṇdita Ṭhākuradāsa, Rāmaprasāda Bhattāchārja(ya), Nikā Miśra, Rāmakṛishṇa.

DOCUMENT 13.

Goddess of Fortune is Victorious

This sunshade, made of beautiful pearl-like letters and conveying a very good sense, befits the king who is (himself) the bearer of shades (on many). Here then is the umbrella-shaped stanza formed by interchange of initial (letters) and displaying infinite complexity of construction :—

"O protector of the earth, O Lord of the treasury and harbours, may goddess Kālīkā, who is of pure lustre, who illumines the divine progenitors and whose splendour influences gods such as Śiva, Brahman, and Vāyu, bestow on you peace and prosperity along with renown.

DOCUMENT 14.

Salute to Gaṇeśa. A woman whose son had died and her issueless co-wife took steps immediately on the death of their husband and the (aforesaid) son to divide between themselves all the estates and treasures including moveables and immoveables belonging to the deceased husband and son, and lived separately. Supposing (now) that one of them dies will the surviving co-wife be entitled to the inheritence being next in kin to her ?

The decision of the law books (on the question) is that as the entire property left by an issueless wife who had been married according to the Brāhma or any other of the five modes of marriage goes to her husband, and failing him to those proximate to him and as among the latter, in the absence of sons etc., the wife is most proximate (to the husband) it is the co-wife who by virtue of her being the principal ought to inherit the property.

Thus says Manu, as quoted by Aparārka, "Whatever belongs to a woman (who has been married) according to the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, Gāndharva or Prājāpatya form of marriage, shall belong, in the event of her dying issuless, to her husband only." Again in Yājñavalkya (we have), "So far as the four (approved) forms of marriage including the Brāhma are concerned, the property of a issueless wife shall devolve on her husband. If she has left daughters (the property) should go to them. In the other forms of marriage it goes to the parents (of the deceased)." The meaning of the passage according to the *Viveka* is (as follows). When a wife who has performed her nuptials according to the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha or Prājāpatya mode dies, her property is inherited by her husband. In his absence those who are closely related to the husband's family get it. In their absence those who are closely related to her father's family obtain it. In the case of one who has obtained the wife's status through any one of the remaining modes of the wife's status marriage, that is to say, according the Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa or Paiśācha form of marriage, her property is inherited by the mother and the father. "First comes the mother. Failing

her comes the father, failing him the relatives connected through the father's family and failing them those who are closely related to the husband's family should obtain it." This is the view of the *Madanapārijata*. The *Mitākshara* (contains the following note):—"If the aforesaid women having attained the status of a wife according to the four forms of marriage namely, Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, and Prājāpatya should die issueless the property aforesaid goes to her husband, in the first instance. In his absence it goes to those closely related to him. In the event of the marriage having been performed according to other forms of marriage, viz,: Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa and Paiśācha the property of the issueless woman goes to her parents. पितृगामि (in the text) means 'that which reaches पितरौ' which is a compound word formed of पिता and माता. But as has already been pointed out (elsewhere), in spite of the rule of *ekaśesha* (under which only one of the compounded words is retained) it is the mother who should obtain the property in the first instance. In her absence it should devolve on the father and in his absence on those closely related to him. Whatever be the form of marriage if the woman has been a *prasūtā*, that is to say, has issue, the property should belong to her daughters. Here the term ' daughters' indicates 'daughter's daughters'. As regards daughters they become entitled to the property in accordance with the text."

As regards the very close proximity of the co-wife to the husband (the following texts may be cited):—

"Wife, daughter, parents, brothers, brother's sons, *sagotras*, kinsmen, pupils, fellow-students; among these the succeeding inherits the property of a man dying without male issue, only in the absence of the preceding one. Such is the law for all castes", Yājñavalkya. "In the revealed texts (of the Vedas), in the traditional law (of the Smṛitis) and in popular usage, the wife is declared by the learned to be half the body (of her husband), equally sharing the outcome of good and evil acts. Of him whose wife is not dead, half of his body survives. How could any one else take the property while half his body lives?"—Bṛihaspati. " The wealth of a man who dies without issue goes to his wife; failing her to her daughter; failing her to his father, failing him to his mother

failing her to his brother, failing him to his brother's son, failing them to his kinsmen, failing them to the *sakulyas*, failing them to fellow-students, failing them to the king excepting in the case of the property being a Brāhmaṇa's." The above text of Vishṇu also supports (our contention). No need of further amplification. Be there prosperity and peace.

DOCUMENT 15.

O prosperous and brave master Macnaghten,[2] of exalted glory, O moon to the council of His Excellency the Governor-General illumined by your excellent qualities, great power and fair fame, O moon among the assembly of ministers, O cherisher of the poor, blessings to you. A strange phenomenon indeed has lately been experienced in this world. Iron when brought into contact with touchstone ceases to be apprehended (as iron). (It) becomes transformed into gold and gold (only) by virtue of its contact with the latter. (But) after an elephant has been actually observed, the observer need no longer take the trouble of inferring it from its trumpeting. That which can be apprehended through perception is not a matter for inference. Therefore, while waiting here I remain in grave doubt, O (my) master, who are a veritable touchstone, or is that maxim according to which one trying to avoid one failure involves himself in another, applicable here ? Having therefore decided that I should personally return to my native place I would beg to submit before you that nobody is to blame. The very root 'dush' seems to have undergone the 'guṇa' operation to increase my 'dosha' (faults). For, nobody should be made accountable for either one's happiness or one's sorrow. But let this be my standing prayer to you, who are proficient in all the sciences, that you should hold without delay another examination and arrange to provide me with employment. As for others, they are awaiting your orders. You are therefore the sole authority to decide.

Samvat 1890, Śrī Nekārāma Sharman earnestly prays that peace should prevail everywhere. Such is the auspicious resolution (made) on the 8th Bhādra II, Saturday.

DOCUMENT 16.

The Supreme Lord is ever Triumphant.

To prosperous and ever fortunate master William Hay Macnaghten endowed with great fame, proficient in the sciences without number, foremost among the accomplished, virtuous and most-respectable.

This is the humble petition of Śri Kenārāma Devaśarman. Having studied all the sciences beginning with grammar and ending with jurisprudence I was enabled for quite a long time to support those who were absolutely dependent on me through the generosity of the late Mr. John Ryecroft Best by working as a Pandit under him. Thereupon luckily for us he retired to the other world. Being without support I appeared at an examination before the Chief of the celebrated Examination Committee as well as the assemblage of god-like examiners, and also secured a diploma bearing the signature of your illustrious self. But so far no benefit has accrued to me who continue to be helpless. Now therefore I solicit your help only ; for, if through the patronage of your illustrious self I succeed in securing a government employment that will surely lead to the enhancement of your reputation. This is what can be stated with brevity.

Verse

Purchase (this my) life which is my only wealth. Nothing else have I got but you have your (many) meritorious acts. O lord of my life, O munificent one if you acquire the reputation of being charitable towards us, I shall also be able to continue singing it. Of Śri Kenārāma Devaśarman.

DOCUMENT 17.

Goddesses of Learning and Prosperity are ever Victorious.

To ever prosperous and fortunate Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, our patron, who is best among the most glorious, is a veritable repository of excellent qualities, is the chastiser of the wicked and pacifier of the good. This is the humble petition of Śri Keṇārāma Devaśarman, pandit of the late John Ryecroft Best. On the 20th day of this month I sent a petition to your excellent self together with a diploma. I solicit now a kind reply to that as well as the (return of) that diploma so that I may succeed in my object.

This letter is dated 27th of Āśvina. The petition is from Kenārāma Devaśarman.

DOCUMENT 18.

That the property of a Brāhmaṇa even if he is without an heir should never be an escheat to the king is clearly stated in the section dealing with kingly duties in Manu's code, in the *Mitākshara* as well as in other (legal treatises). It is clear that the Vedic Scriptures also prescribe that the property of a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas, because he is to be cherished even as a natural born son by the king, cannot be escheated under any circumstances, whether he may be living or may have died leaving behind him sons or grandsons. On this point the following texts of Manu has been cited in the *Mītākshara* and other works. "The property of a Brāhmaṇa must never be taken by the king, that is a settled rule etc." "Having ascertained his learning in the Vedas and the purity of his conduct the king shall provide for him means of subsistence in accordance with the sacred law, and shall protect him in every way as a father (protects) the lawful son of his body. Whatever meritorious acts (such a Brāhmaṇa) performs under the full protection of the king, thereby the king's length of life, wealth and kingdom increase." "For when these creatures, being without a king, through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole (creation); taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera). Because a king has been formed of particles of those of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre; and like the sun, he warms eyes and minds nor can anybody on earth ever gaze on him. Through his supernatural power he is Fire and Wind, he is Sun and Moon, he the Lord of Justice (Yama), he Kubera, he Varuṇa, he great Indra". "Penance is declared the highest (virtue) in the Satyayuga, (acquisition of) knowledge in the Tretāyuga, (performance of) sacrifices in the Dvāparayuga and charity alone in the Kaliyuga." "One derives twice as great merit by protecting and cherishing others as from the charities bestowed by him. Of munificence and protection

certainly the latter is more commendable than the former. One secures only heaven by (practising) munificence, but one obtains the state of imperishable existence by (affording) protection (to others)." "The king shall protect the inherited (and other) property of a minor, until he has returned (from his teacher's house) or until he has passed his minority."

DOCUMENT 19.

Four sons were born to a certain chief named Jagadrājasiṃha viz., Senāpatisiṃha, Pahādasiṃha, Keharisiṃha, Kirātasiṃha. Of them the one named Kīratasiṃha begot on his first wife three sons, the eldest of whom was called Shumāna Siṃha, the second Pṛithvīsiṃha, and the youngest Dhundhasiṃha. Of them the second, Pṛithvīsiṃha separated (from the family) while the eldest and the youngest viz. Shumānasiṃha and Dhundhasiṃha continued to live jointly. Thereafter the eldest had a son named Vijayabahādura and the youngest had one named Lakshmaṇasiṃha. Vijayabahādura had by his married wife three sons of the name of Īśvarīsiṃha, Puraṇamala, and Govindadāsa. They however died childless even while their father was alive. The latter had by a Śūdra concubine a bastard called Raṇajitsiṃha. Khedasiṃha is the issue of Lakshmaṇasiṃha, Vijayabahādura's paternal uncle's son and Ratanasiṃha is the son of Vijayabahādura's illegitimate issue, Raṇajitsiṃha. Now that Vijayabahādura is dead, the question at issue is which of the two survivors, viz. the deceased's paternal uncle's son, Khedasiṃha and his bastard's son Ratanasiṃha, will succeed to the Chiefship handed down in regular succession in an undivided state. The answer (is as below). Since the unmarried consort had the status of a slave, Raṇajitsiṃha begotten on her as well as Ratanasiṃha, Raṇjitsiṃha's son has no claims whatsoever. The texts in support of this conclusion are as follows ;

"The woman acquired by purchase shall not be raised to the status of a wife. Neither shall she be permitted to offer oblation to gods or ancestors. She is termed a slave by the sages." Here the term "acquired by purchase" means acquired by gifts, not by wedlock, for the purpose of cohabitation. The son begotten on a Śūdra woman by the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya or Vaiśya is not entitled to inheritance, so says Manu. From the terming of a woman acquired by purchase as a 'slave' in the above text (it is clear that) all unmarried (consorts) are to be taken as Śūdra. "One begotten on a Śūdra woman by a person of the twice born caste

has no claims to a share in (ancestral) estates." The above text of Devala, which by asserting the incapacity of those begotten on a wedded slave to succeed to (ancestral estates) renders the claims of a son born out of wedlock doubly invalid, makes it quite clear that Ratanasiṃha has no right to the Chiefship. Yājñavalkya of course lays down that one though begotten on a concubine by a Śūdra is entitled to a portion in the patrimony if (so) desired (by the father). (But here) if we follow the explicit statement in the printed edition of the *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 192) the specific mention of the word 'Śūdra' implies that those begotten by the twice-born on concubines are, inspite of what their fathers may have wished to the contrary, not entitled even to a fraction of the property, let alone the whole of it.

Yājñavalkya and others having advised partition by rules which enjoin that shares should be four parts, three, two or one according to the order of the marriages (contracted by the deceased), and the implication (of the rules) being that in the absence of marriage sons born of women of the same caste (as father's) are entitled to no share, and none of our authors having said expressly in (favor of) a share for the sons and grandsons of this description, Ratanasiṃha has right only to maintenance and to nothing else. Thus runs the text of Bṛihaspati as cited in the *Madanaratna*: "The son born of one who is (otherwise) childless by a Śūdra wife, if obedient, shall receive maintenance and the rest (of his property shall go to collaterals (*sapiṇḍas*)". Gautama also has it that the son begotten on a Śudra woman by one who is (otherwise) childless, if dutiful, shall receive a maintenance on the analogy of a pupil. These two texts by establishing the invalidity of the claims of the issue of an unmarried concubine to the property of a person separated from the family and the validity of the claims of the collaterals, only makes it clear that the right of succession to an undivided state belongs only to collaterals. Moreover, the son born of a concubine being given the term *pāraśava*, which means a living corpse, according to the following text of Manu—"He (the son of a Brāhmāṇa by a Śūdra) is as a corpse even though living and he is called *pāraśava* (the live corpse)', just as the corpse has no title to property, the illegitimate son who is almost a corpse has no right what-

soever even though he may be living. This being the clear implication (of the text) Ratanásiṃha has no valid claims to the Chiefship. (The right of) succession therefore belongs to Khedasiṃha. This is the opinion supported by all legal codes.

This interpretation is approved by Īśvaradattaśarmapaṇḍita

Approval (is accorded) to this interpretation by Kāśināthaśāstri surnamed Ashṭaputra

Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin endorses this interpretation. Approval (is accorded) by Prāḍvivāka Śālagrāma Paṇḍita

Approval (is accorded) to this interpretation by Viṭhṭhalaśāstrin

This interpretation is approved by Umārāvaśarmapaṇḍita surnamed Sukula.

To this interpretation (is accorded) the approval of Chaturveda Hiranandaśarmapaṇḍita.

By Śrīkṛishṇa Charaṇa Śarman approval (is accorded) to this interpretation.

DOCUMENT 20.

(Divine Rāma is Victorious
Divine Ekaliṃga Ji)

Hail. May this letter commencing with the salutation of Mahārājadhirāja Mahārāṇā His Majesty Śardāra Siṃha Deva from the prosperous Udayapattana find delight in the best of preceptors His Holiness Raṇganātha, the prince among paṇditas endowed with the assemblage of all the virtues. Peace (reigns) here through the grace of the Divine (Lord). We wish the same to (accrue to) Your Holiness in ever increasing degree. Further the letter conveying Your Holiness's benediction arrived here and the news were learnt. Your Holiness is our well-wisher. Further, Jamādāra Vaṃśarāja, Jamādāra Prītama Siṃha, Subākṛishṇa and Nārāyaṇamalla came here with presents from there and having delivered (them) to the best of rulers (Mahārājdhirāja Mahāraṇā His Majesty Javāna Siṃha stayed here (for some time). Thereafter a commission was given hence that they should after arriving there communicate the news of this place. What else to one who is better informed. No need of (further) amplification.

This letter is written on (this day) the 3rd. day of bright fortnight of the month of Āśvina, Samvat 1895.

(*In another hand*) On the 2nd day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika.

On the cover

To the prince among the paṇḍitas, Chief Preceptor Śri Raṇganātha this letter (is addressed).

DOCUMENT 21.

Divine Rāma is Victorious
Rāṃa Ekaliṃga

Hail. Of the best among princes the Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāṇā His Majesty Śardāra Siṃha, (who is) the ornament of the house of the thousand-rayed (deity) and who by his devotion to the lotus-feet of the Lord of Śrī (Śrīnātha) has attained all his desires. Prosperity to Mahārāja Rājendra Śrī Vikrama Śāhavarman, the rise of whose fair fame is being constantly chanted by the poeple of all the quarters illumined by the moon in the form of his multitudinous glories derived from the victory over his enemies achieved by the excessive valour which he has gained by virtue of his worship of the feet of the divine Paśupatīśvara, and who by the radiation of the rays emanating from the Sun in the form of very brilliant statecraft learnt by him from the teachings of Manu and others has dispelled many assemblages of darkness in the form of wicked people and has (thereby) delighted his numerous subjects.

May exceeding delight accrue to this news-bearing epistle which begins with the name of the blessed (Lord). Peace (prevails) here through the grace of the Divine Lord. The abundance of the same we wish to (you) who are entitled to prosperity. Further, Jamādāra Vaṃśarāja, Jamādāra Prītama Siṃha, Śobakṛishṇa and Nārāyanamalla who were deputed by you reached this place with presents. Having delivered (them) to the best among rulers Mahārājādhirāja Javāna Siṃha they stayed here (for some time). Thereafter they were given permission to depart for your place. Arriving there they will make known the news hereof. Your Majesty is of our family. Therefore the customs of this and your place are to be considered as identical. You should always delight us by sending letters. The rest of the news should be learnt from the letter of Mahetā Rāma Siṃha. What more to one who knows all. No need of further amplification. The letter is written on this day the 2nd day of the dark fortnight in the month of Kārttika, Samvat 1895.

DOCUMENT 22

(The Goddess of Prosperity is victorious.)

May your arrival which is like the fresh appearance of the moon and which dispels the darkness in the shape of the enemies (bring) delight to us by the increase of (your) splendour. This is the benedictory verse of Yadunātha Paṇḍita.

DOCUMENT 23.

The term to be considered here is 'aurasaputra' (son of the body). In the particular expression 'aurasaputra, the qualifying word 'aurasa' which is a taddhita derivative in form is used with reference to issue personally begotten by one. As regards the term 'putra' it is universally known that it is a synonym of the term 'issue'. Here are the authorities regarding this sense of the term 'putra'. The *Kośa*, for instance, says, "The terms ātmaja, tanaya, sūnu, suta and putra when put in the feminine gender are understood by everybody to signify 'daughters' only". The meaning of (the passage in) the *Kośa* is as follows. The above group of words which begin with 'ātmaja' and end with 'putra' are all equivalent to the word 'issue.' But when used in a specific sense to denote female species comprehended within the (generic) term 'issue' they appear in the feminine gender. In that case the forms 'ātmajā', 'tanayā', 'sūnū', and 'putrī' are to be used. But when that sense is not intended, (the forms) should be simply 'ātmaja' etc. A supplementary hymn attached to the Ṛigveda runs, "Thou who bringest forth many *putras* shall never suffer from sorrow." (Here we have to explain) *bahu putrāṇi*. The supplementary verse is certainly referring to the state of becoming the mother of many issue. Nor is here an intention to denote issues having no sex. On the contrary the intention is clearly to refer to issue of both the sexes. Thus a word denoting issue in the generic sense is used in the neuter gender. In the specific sense of male issue, however, the form should be masculine 'putra.' Words implying a genus are in the neuter gender. Manu has, "In cases of bequests etc. shares accrue to putras who are *mithuna* without any distinction whatsoever, this is the injunction of Svāyambhuva Manu." *Mithuna*, that is to say, both male and female. *Mithuna* and *dvanda* stand for 'male and female,' this is (gathered) from the *Kośa*. *Manvartha-vivaranam* and *Nirukta-Vedānga* also are of the opinion that *putras* of both sexes are entitled to become heirs. If (it is urged) that *putra* should be used in its specific sense because

of our awareness of the use of the word in the sense of male issue only among the uncultured-Non-Aryans, that also is not (valid). For it is opposed to the commentary to the *Āśvalāyana Sūtra* which notices the use of the term *putra* to denote both male and female issue in Aryan as well as Non-Aryan usage. The word *putra* is noticed in common usage as being used in the sense of daughter, *e.g.*, 'come O Son'. 'Common usage' (referred) to here no doubt will be meaningless unless taken to cover the Non-Aryan usage. Therefore it is clear that the interpretation of the word *putra* as both female and male issue is justified by usage also. That one should not wrongly think that the word *putra* does not comprehend the term *kanyā* is clearly shown by the commentary to the *Vyākaraṇa Kaumudī* entitled *Manoramā* as follows: "the word *putra* (also) conveys the sense of female issue." Thus after considering the term *putra* with the help of diverse authorities it becomes clearly established that it is capable of denoting both male and female issue. Therefore both male and female issue should be considered as *aurasa putra* or son of the body.

DOCUMENT 24

Prosperity.

May the endless prayers offered by Pandit Viśvanatha Dīkshita Agnihotrin the protégé of the chief among the great princes Mahārāja Rāo Rājā Vinayasiṃha, the ruler of Alwār in the western region, shed lustre on that illustrious chief of the Europeans, who is the most excellent among the excellent rulers, resident of the city of *Kilakilā* and is the principal refuge (of all); who is designated as *Lāta Sāheba* the paramount ruler; around whose lotus feet are waved in adoration the crest-jewels on the head of numerous princes; and who has attained the sovereignty of the earth by virtue of his devotion to the unknowable supreme spirit which is without parallel and is the embodiment of being, consciousness and beatitude. Peace (prevails) here. I have been residing in (the city of Gayā in the province of Kīkaṭa till this day, Monday of the dark fortnight of Jyaishṭha in the year *Kshaya*, observing the rites of *agnihotra* with my pupils and family. The matter which deserves now to be brought to the notice of your Lordship is as follows. Having secured the permission of the illustrious Mahārāja for pilgrimage we arrived at Prayāga by the route of *Argalāpura*. Having resided there for a few days we came to Kāśī where also we halted. Thereafter while proceeding to Gayā we being invited by the merchant Hīralāla of the shop at the village of Rājā Modānārayaṇasiṃha lying 5 krosas from Gayā to the west, we made a settlement as regards charges, took up our lodging in his market place and finished our (usual) business including meals as on other days. At night while we were asleep thieves belonging to the village came in and seized my ornaments, cash (and other belongings). As they were making off a Brāhmaṇa of our party woke up and caught a thief by his knees. Thereupon the thief having struck the Brāhmaṇa on the head with a dagger and having given him a kick on the chest the latter fell into a swoon. After this all of us belonging to my party woke up. An attempt was made to bring a lamp but although all the people of that road were

conversing with each other in their respective houses none of them came forward inspite of a cry being raised that the thieves were going away; nor did anybody open their door to lend a lamp. Then the owner of the market place was sent for. He also did not come. Thereupon we called for...... He however came after some interval and made a light. While looking round (he came across) the unconscious Brāhmaṇa. After the latter had been brought round (it was found) in the course of the inspection of the goods thereof that (the thieves) had collected property to the value of four thousand including gold, pearls, silver, jewellery and gold and silver coins. He then (reported the matter) to (an officer of) the rank of *barakandāẓa* and brought him in the space of a *prahara* from (Panchānapura). Both of them having arrived at the place made a local inspection but remained unenlightened at the time. (Thereafter) having arrived at a place called Panchānapura (there in a certain house) we found four iron implements of the burglar viz., first, dagger, second, (the tool) called knife, third, (the tool) called tongs, fourth, the implement called 'keys'. Even though they discovered there not less than 15 keys they observed that these were the (legitimate) property of the owner of the house and closed the door. The next day an officer of the designation of *Jamādāra* came fromt he town of Ṭakāri two krosses off. He made an enquiry here and there and having taken written depositions from two or three persons ordered everybody to return to their own residence. After this we came to Gayā from Panchānapura and submitted a representation to the Magistrate. He received it and went through it but did not give any reply. Thereupon waiting silently for 10 to 15 days we again made a representation explaining our object. Having seen it he passed the following order; "It is for you to search for the thieves. What have we to do ?" Thereafter we moved about hither and thither for about twenty days, and having got some clue we again submitted a representation praying that officers might be ordered to search in the house suspected by us. An order was issued to that effect. The next day we went with the officer concerned to the house of a certain gambler. While making the search a bodice which formed part of my articles

stolen by thieves was found. The gambler was thereupon taken into custody and we came to the place called ṭhāṇā (police station). Being questioned by the officer of that station as to how that article came to his house he put in writing that this was given to him by the proprietor of the very marketplace in the village Panchānapura where these gentlemen had taken up their lodgings, and attested to it of his own free will.

On the third day when questioned on his arrival in the presence of Magistrate, he submitted a rambling account different (from the previous) concealing (the nature of) his own profession as tutored by others. Having (thereafter) received the official order that he should go home after making over the article to the officers, he went away. Then the recovered bodice was made over to me and order was given to us that we should go on with further search. Now, if the ruler continues thus to take sides with thieves what help is there for wayfarers as well as subjects (in general) ? Moreover, it is testified by the *Mitāksharā* in the section on law-suits that it is not possible for a ruler to cherish his subjects without chastising the wicked. After stating that "the king should investigate law-suits himself" (the text goes on to say) that "the king should appoint as assessors men who are learned, studious, well-versed in law, truthful and impartial to friends and foes alike. Those assessors who act contrary to the texts of law out of passion, greed or fear are each to be punished with a fine of double the amount of the disputed sums." Hence, these people as they fall under the operation of the above quoted (text) ought to be severely dealt with. Again, it is the duty of the Chief Judge to punish a thief as well as restore the property stolen by him in accordance with the text that "the thief should be recognised by the police by (his possession) of stolen goods, by means of footprints, by his having committed (similar) offence previously and by his living in disreputable houses." (He is) to investigate a law suit immediately according to the text which begins with the word "violence, theft, abusive speech." Since a wayfarer like me who has been robbed of his property cannot know that these (persons) in the village are thieves and these are honest it may be asked what right I have to enter into a discussion

of this kind about this place. I have no right. But (I have been induced to do so) out of the conviction that the disrepute of the agent also devolves on the principal. Whatever the local officers of this place do contrary to law they ascribe to their master, though Your Excellency has not the least fault in this matter. Your Excellency has done nothing except issuing instructions that law suits should be conducted strictly in accordance with the legal texts. My feeling in this respect is that the former rulers used to appropriate for themselves any treasure taken by others after penalising them. Now there is not the least covetousness for such things. Such is Your Excellency's regard for the maxims of law that no one can escape by giving even a crore in cash such penalty as he deserves. As regards the goods stolen from me your esteemed lordship should kindly take into consideration every fact in accordance with the usage (enjoined by) the text, "when reinvestigating a law-suit which was ill-investigated the king shall impose a fine of double the disputed sum on the assessors as well as the winning party," and order the chief magistrate of the locality to get the thief traced and property restored with the help of the village chief, in compliance with the following text of the chapter on theft in the *Mitāksharā* Smṛiti; "The responsibility of a theft or an assault lies with the headman of a village or the proprietor of an enclosed ground (as the case may be) as long as it can be shown that the culprit has not gone out of the village or the ground in question, and with the policeman, if it is committed on the road or in a place other than an enclosure." If the thief cannot be tracked it behoves you to issue orders that the lost property should be restored to me and to do whatever is necessary for recovering the stolen goods. It will be superfluous to write further to your esteemed lordship who is experienced (in this matter).

Names of the (lost) articles in vernacular :—

Goṭhs, 2 pairs, 36 tolahs (Rs.) 612
Pāṭhalī 1 pair, 12 tolahs (Rs.) 204
Kaṃgaṇā 2 pairs 4 tolahs (Rs.) 68
Hasulī (small) 6 tolahs (Rs.) 102
Sarī 1, 13 tolahs (Rs.) 221

Vindali 1 pair 4 tolahs (Rs.) 68
(Lacunae covering 4 lines)
( ) rings of ( )
These are the articles of gold set with stones.

Jaipuri coins 20 at Rs. 15 each (Rs.) 300
Coins of Mahārājā Śaśār(?) 5 (Rs.) 7
Coins of Lucknow (Rs.) 16
Putalī 1 (Rs.) 5½
Ṭikalī 5 tolahs (Rs.) 30
A necklace of *gośriṃga* (Rs.) 12½
Ketaka 2 totahs (Rs.) 34
Rākhaḍī 1 (Rs.) 17
Māthekā-phul 1 tolahs (Rs.) 17
Gāṭhali (Rs.) 25½.
Nath motī wa hīrā wālī 1 (Rs.) 2024
1 pair of *kāp* (Rs.) 150
Motī kā dāṇā vinā voy (Rs.) 100
Nīḷa (*nīlā*) 10 (Rs.) 20
Pushparāg 10 (Rs.) 20
Sātphulīmotī (Rs.) 28
1 pair of *bhokrā* (Rs) 50
1 pair of *chaukadā* (Rs.) 216
Kaṭorī 2 pieces Rs. 23
Chamachyā (Rs.) 5
Pelā 1 (Rs.) 6

Pohachā 5 (Rs.) 5
1 pair of *kadā* 5 (Rs.) 5
1 pair of todā (Rs.) 50
1 pair of *bichoya* (Rs.) 14
1 pair of *masoḷā* (Rs.) 7
1 pair of *bālī jhumkā* (Rs.) 50
4 pairs ot *pillī* (Rs.) 5
1 pair of *phulpāvak* (Rs.) 3
1 pair of *ghumghurū* (Rs.) 12
1 Piece of silver (Rs.) 8
Cash Rs. 240
These include only the silver articles

Three bodices of women

One brass trunk containing cloths for tying up ornaments and cloths for tying up cash as well as ornaments,

F. 17

DOCUMENT 25.

(1)

(It is found in) in Kalpataru and Ratnākara that Kātyāyana speaks of partition being made also according to differences of locality etc. 'Whatever may be the custom obtaining in a locality, a Community a guild or a village that very custom should be followed in effecting a partition, Bhrigu,' that is to say, 'so says Bhrigu.' This opinion is clearly expressed in the *Vyavahāratattva* compiled by Śri Raghunāthanandana Bhaṭṭāchāryya.

(2)

Jimutavāhana makes the following remarks: "Vyāsa, accordingly, propounds" 'that division according to mothers is prescribed for the sons who are sprung from the same father and are equal in caste and number but have different mothers'. Bṛihaspati also states that "when there are many sons sprung from one father equal in caste and number but born of different mothers, a legal division may be effected by adjusting the shares according to the mothers." Here caste and number being the same the division (of shares) between stepbrothers cannot be on the basis of their individual rights. The rule enjoining divisions according to mothers makes the mother the principal (party in the transaction). (Hence) the division should be made taking into view that it is not a (case of) division among sons but (one of) division among their mothers. This is the interpretation. Therefore as in (the case of) other wealth of the mothers here also, mutual division among sons is invalid in the life-time of the mothers. Hence the increase in righteousness from division spoken of by Gautama and others is to be understood (as accruing) on mother's death only."

Since (to consider divisibility of) fathers' estates as dependent on mother's death leads to the fallacy of construing a purport not perceived, that (view) has already been refuted. These are the opinions of Vyāsa, Bṛhaspati and Gautama (as quoted) in the Vīramitrodaya. Peace.

NOTES

NOTES

DOCUMENT 1

The document is written on a sheet of country-made paper measuring 20″ by 10″. The script is Devanāgarī. As regards orthography the following points may be noted: the letters *n* and *m* when followed by a consonant are replaced by *anusvāra*, an exception being provided by *n* followed by *m*. The practice of duplicating consonants after *r* is confined to dentals only, e.g. *karttavya*. The *b* sound is represented by *v*. There is one slip of pen. The word *satve'pi* in line 4 should read *sattve'pi*. As regards punctuation the only point that may interest readers is that stops of all varieties are represented by dots. Two vertical lines indicate the beginning of a fresh line.

1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 7. 13 (12[a]), Bonn. Univ. Edn. 1879. *Sāṃkhyāyana Śrautasūtra*, 15. 17[a] (*Bibl. Ind. Series*).

1a. Quoted in the *Dattaka Mīmāṃsā*, III, 36.

2. *Manu*—IX, 180. The first two *charaṇas* of the verse read; "kshetrajādīn sutān etān ekādaśa yathoditān."

3. *Manu*—IX, 182. Bühler translates the verse as: "If among brothers, sprung from one (father) one have a son, Manu has declared them all to have male offspring through that son."

4. *Mitākshharā-kāra*—Vijñāneśvara, who was a contemporary of Vikramāditya of Kalyāna (1075-1127).

Hemādri—author of the *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* (1260-1309), an imposing *dharmanibandha* consisting of 5 big chapters. He was the minister and secretary (Śrikaraṇādhipa) to Mahādeva (1260-71) and Rāmachandra (1271-1309), the two powerful rulers of the Yādava dynasty.

Madanaratna—or more properly, the *Madanaratna-pradīpa*, a huge encyclopaedia of law in 7 books compiled most probably in the latter half of the 17th century (*Hindu Law and Customs*, pp. 80-81). The author of the work was Madanapāla. "As he glorifies Delhi and polemises against the authors of the South and East", he probably belonged to the North West.

Vīramitrodaya—the legal digest (and not the commentary of the same name) by Mitra Miśra, the court poet of Vīra Siṃha, the Bundela King of Orchha. The latter was a contemporary of Akbar and lived up to Shah Jahan's reign.

Mayūkha—or more properly, *Vyavahāramayūkha* being one of the 12 sections (mayūkhas) of Nīlakaṇṭha's famous work,

Bhagavanta-Bhāskara. This was written by the author in honour of the Rajput prince Bhagavantadeva of the family of the Sengaras of Bhareha at the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal, in the North Western Provinces. (*Hindu Law & Customs*, p. 84). His date has been fixed as falling between 1610 and 1645 A.D.

5. *Yājñavalkya.*—The reference is to Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, II, 8, 135-136. N.B. According to the Smṛiti (III, 110) Yājña-valkya is said to have composed a treatise on Yogaśāstra also.

6. *Vṛiddha-Parāśara.*—Also known as Bṛihat-Parāśara, is an extensive work about 5 times the bulk of Parāśara and is really an enlarged version of Parāśara (Jolly, *Hindu Law and Customs*, p. 51). It must be a very late work, as the earliest treatise to mention it is Bhattoji's comment on the *Chaturvimśatimata* (p. 138). The verse in question has also been quoted by Nanda-paṇḍita in his Dattakamīmāṃsā (p. 56).

7. *Pāraśara*—Kane places him about the 5th century A. D. Parāśara-smṛiti has been published in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series.*

8. *Mitāksharāvām yathāha*—Mitāksharā, 130 (see Nirnaya-sagara Press edition of *Yājñavalkya smṛiti*, p. 213). The verse of Manu is taken from Manusaṃhitā, IX, 168.

9. *āpadgrahaṇād etc.*—Mitākshārā, 130.

10. *tathā ekaputro etc.*—Mitāksharā, 130. Vasishṭha, XV, 1-8.

11. *Śaunaka*—Probably Śaunaka Smṛiti. So far only one manuscript of this work has been found (vide B.B.R.A.S., Cat. p. 208). But it is not known if the verse quoted occurs in this manuscript. The verse however has been quoted by Nanda-paṇdita in the *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, 54.

12. *The Mahābhārata*, I, 100. 67 (Bombay Edition).

13. *Manu*—IX, 106.

13a. Quoted in the *Dattakamīmaṃsā*, p. 24. But there the word *asapiṇḍa* appears in the vocative case.

14. *Nandapaṇḍita.* The epithet Dharmādhikārin indicates that he was a member of the famous Dharmādhikārin family of Benares. Two other members of the same family viz., Jagannāth Dharmādhikārī and Mahīdhar Dharmādhikārī appear among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2. On the Dharmadhikari family See Mandlik, *Hindu Law, LXXII*, p., n 3. According to him the founder of the family was Lakshmidhara, a resident of Bidar who had migrated to Benares. The most illustrious member of the family was Vināyaka Paṇḍita 1595-1623), author of the Dattakamīmāṁsā.

15. *Gaṅgarāma Joshi.* He may be the same as 'Gangarama Sarma,' the 5th signatory to the Sanskrit address of congratulations sent by Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1796 (*Debatis*

of House of Lords, 1797, pp. 755-768 quoted in the *Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits—A. D.* 1796, by P. K. Gode, *Journal of Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. II, no. 1, pp. 10-14).

16. *Vaijanātha Bhaṭṭa*—may be the same as the signatory no 10 to DOCUMENT 2.

17. *Dīnāṇātha Deva*—perhaps identical with, 'Dīnānātha' of DOCUMENT 2.

18. *Guṇeśvara Bhaṭṭa*—same as 'Guneśvar Bhaṭ' of DOCUMENT 2.

19. *Bhavānīśaṅkara*—identical with "Bhavani Sankara surnamed Thakura" the 45th signatory to the Sanskrit address of congratulations sent by the Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1797 (Gode, *Op. cit*). His name occurs also among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2 in the present collection.

20. *Kṛipā-Kṛishṇa Yājñika*—his name occurs among the signatories to both DOCUMENT 2 and the Sanskrit address referred to under note 19.

21. *Ardhamaṇopanāmaka Rājārāma*—identical with signatory no. 39 to the Sanskrit address referred to in note 19 above. The surname Ardhamaṇa is evidently the Sanskritised form of *Adamaṇe*.

22. *Jagannātha Miśra*—his name occurs among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2.

23. *Puṇyastambhakara*—Sanskritised form of the surname 'Puntamabekar'.

24. *Paurāṇikopākhya Ātmārāma Bhaṭṭa*—Signatory no. 14 to DOCUMENT 2.

25. Same as 'Anant Rām Bhaṭ' of DOCUMENT 2. He is referred to as one of the prominent pandits in Benares in the note on the *Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus* contributed by Ali Ibrahim Khan to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

26. Same as 'Dadam Bhatta Sarma, surnamed Bhatta' of the Sanskrit address referred to in note 19. He was also one of the signatories to DOCUMENT 2.

27. *Meghanātha Deva*—Same as 'Meghanāth Dev' of DOCUMENT 2.

28. *Śesha Hari Rāma*—Same as 'Sesha Hari Rama Panta' of the Sanskrit address referred to in note 19 above.

29. It is not known whether this Govinda Rāma was identical with the 'Govinda Rama', the court Pandit referred to by Ali Ibrahim Khan (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

30. *Nīlakaṇṭha Śarman*—His name occurs first in the list of signatories to DOCUMENT 2.

31. *Nānā Pāṭhaka*—He was also among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2. He is mentioned as a Benares Pandit in the note on Trial by Ordeal contributed to the Asiatic Society by Ali Ibrahim Khan (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

32. Is he the same as Sītā Rām Bhaṭṭa Puranic of DOCUMENT 2 ?

33. *Bhairava Dīkshita*—Perhaps the same as signatory no. 5 of DOCUMENT 2.

34. *Bhīshma Bhaṭṭa*—He is referred to by Ali Ibrahim Khan in his note on Trial by Ordeal (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

DOCUMENT 2

The collection in which the document occurs consists of 2 pages each measuring 9.5″ by 6″. The first two pages contain the Persian translation of the address. The third page begins with a seal in Arabic of Qazi Naqi Khan, dated 1201 A. H., who is probably to be identified with ' Ali Naqi, Vakil of ' Ali Ibrahim Khan, Magistrate of Benares (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII. no. 1046). The seal is followed by the address which occupies pp. 3 and 4. Pp 5-8 contain the names of the signatories in the Persian script. Most of the names have been mis-transliterated.

The address is evidently a copy. It is written in Devanāgarī. There are several spelling mistakes which must be attributed to the copyist. As regards orthography the following points may be noted:—' *m* ' and ' *n* ' when followed by consonants are usually substituted by *ṃ*, but there are exceptions to this practice, e.g. *Kampāni*, *samāyānti*; distinction between *v* and *b* has not always been observed; e.g. *avda* (in place of *abda*), *vrūmah* (in place of *brūmah*), As in DOCUMENT 1, consonants retain their single form after *r*. An exception is provided by dentals.

Full stops are indicated by means of double vertical bars and shorter pauses by means of blanks between sentences or clauses.

A free English translation of this document has been preserved in TRANSLATIONS OF ORIGINAL LETTERS RECEIVED, 1788 B., p. 56.

Another inaccurate rendering has been published in the *Proceedings at the Trial of Warren Hastings.*

1. *Yugakṛita*—'Four followed by four', *dhṛiti*—18. The year is therefore 1844 V. S.

2. *Navapūrṇātyashṭi*—Nine preceded by zero and seventeen i. e. 1709.

3. *Adhiguhatithi*—Tithi presided over by Guha or Kārttikeya i. e., the 6th lunar day. The date corresponds to 16 November, 1787.

4. Hastings framed a number of regulations for the improvement of the administration, trade and commerce of Benares and he wrote in a letter to Wheler, "I have the happiness to find all men satisfied and happy in the excellent administration of Benares." Forrest, *Selections from State Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 816-17, 1095, 1117 and 1119.

5. *Gaṅgāputra.*—According to V. S. Apte, "a Brahmana who conducts pilgrims to the Ganges". From the ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF PERSIAN LETTERS RECEIVED (1788, Vol. 28, p. 57) it appears that the term used to be applied to the officiating priests in general. In Bengal the *Doms* in charge of the cremation grounds on the banks of the Ganges are also styled as *Gaṅgāputras.*

6. In his letter to Wheler, already referred to, Hastings opined that the pilgrims should be encouraged in every way. In 1781 he abolished the pilgrim-tax and framed a few regulations to protect them "against every means of oppression." Forrest, *Op. cit*, p. 1117. Also see *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 535 and 808.

7. Ali Ibrahim Khan served under Alivardi Khan and Mir Qasim with distinction. He was appointed Chief Magistrate of Benares in 1781, and held that office till his death in 1793. Hastings thought very highly of his character and ability and alluded to the Chief Magistrate's "character for moderation, disinterestedness and good sense" in a note to the Council. Forrest, *Op. cit.*, p. 816.

8. See Forrest, *Op. cit*, p. 816 and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI. p. 292.

The relevant part of the proclamation is as follows: "In all cases which depend on the particular laws and institutions of the parties, the said President and Judges shall adjudge the right as established by those facts according to the respective laws and institutions of the parties, whether they be Mussalmen or Hindus and for this purpose they shall be assisted by two Maulvis versed in the Sheriat...... and two Pundits versed in the Pootee of justice." Forrest, *Op., cit*, p. 817; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p. 292.

9. Balavant Singh, Raja of Benares, (1739-1770), was succeeded by his son Chet Singh, who was deposed by Hastings in 1781.

10. Hastings visited Benares on the 13th March 1784 on his way to Lucknow. During the return journey he spent about a month (13th September to 22nd October) at the holy city. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 985, 992, 998 and 1421.

11. For correct transliteration of the names see English Translation.

DOCUMENT 3

This document like the previous one consists of 12 pages measuring 10" by 6.5". The first page contains the Sanskrit address; the third Ali Naqi Khan's seal and a Persian translation of the address. The names of the signatories occur on the 4th, the 5th and the 6th pages. As in the previous document most of the names have been mis-copied.

The address is written in the, 18th century Bengali script normal a good many examples of which will be found in the *Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan*, published by Calcutta University in this very series. There are several slips, all of which must have been due to the copyist. Shorter pauses are indicated by means of single vertical bars and larger ones by double vertical bars.

An inaccurate English translation of the document occurs in the TRANSLATIONS OF ORIGINAL LETTERS, RECEIVED, 1788 B., p. 58.

DOCUMENT 4

It is written on one side of a sheet measuring 15" by 6". The document is lavishly ornamented with gold. The script is Devanāgarī. There are several errors both in grammar and orthography. Double vertical bars indicate the beginning of a fresh line. The cover of the document bearing the seal of the writer has been preserved with the document. A Persian abstract of the document will be found in the ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS RECEIVED, No. 56, p. 3.

1. *Kāṃnavāliśa*—Assimilation of *r n* into *m n* is a characteristic of Western Prākṛts. e. g. *Sātakaṃni* < *Sātakarṇi* (Rapson,

Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, pp. 4, 29, 38, 40). Parallels also occur in Kharośhṭhi Prākrits, e. g. *uṃna>urṇa* (Burrow, *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents*, p. 13).

2. *Sāmīryaṃtaiti*—Sāmi + īryaṃte + iti.

3. Formed by adding *kan* to the honorific, *Babujī*.

DOCUMENT 5

Written on both sides of a sheet of hand-made paper measuring about 18″ x 11″. The script is Devanāgarī. As regards orthography almost the same peculiarities are noticed as those exemplified in DOCUMENT 1. As in that document no distinction is maintained between "v" and "b". There are a few slips towards the end of the petition. Stops are indicated by means of blank spaces between words and sentences.

Regarding the date of this and the two following documents see INTRODUCTION. All three seem to be in the same hand.

The document has a Persian abstract annexed to it. Another Persian abstract has been preserved in ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS RECEIVED, no. 322, page 8.

1. This and the following verse are in the *Anushṭubh* metre

2. The metre is *Śārdulavikrīḍita*.

3. This as well as the next verse is in *Mālinī*.

4. A case of *sāpekshatve'pi gamakatvāt samāsa*.

5. *Sihuṃḍa*—*See* INTRODUCTION. It is evidently to be identified with Sihonda a town in the Banda District. It is situated on the right bank of the Ken river about 12 miles south of the town of Banda. During Akbar's reign it became the headquarters of a *pargana* of the Kalinjar *Sarkar* in the *Subah* of Allahabad and throughout the Mughal period it continued to be the seat of the civil administration of that *Sarkar*. Under the Bundelas Sihonda became the headquarters of the Jagir allotted to Ḍiwan Kirat Singh, son of Jagatraj. But it steadily declined in importance after the headquarters had been transferred to the town of Banda. The town was incorporated into the dominions of Ali Bahadur in or about 1792 when the latter drove away Bakht Bali, nephew of Guman Singh from Banda. (*District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, Vol. XX, pp. 289-90; E. T. Atkinson, *Statistical and Historical account of the North Western Provinces of India*, pp. 129-30 and 582). Prof A. H. Nizami tells me that Sihonda finds

mention in the *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* (p. 44), a Sanskrit historical poem of the 16th century.

6. Rāmāyaṇa, I. Mahābhārata, II, 12; III, 77, Bhāgavata, XI, 7, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, VII.

7. Bhāgavata, IX, 21. The story occurs in a slightly different form in the Nakulākhyānam (Mahābhārata, XIV, 90)

8. Mahābhārata, XIV, 92. 6

9. Śibi-charitam—Mahābhārata III, 197 and Śyena-Kapotīya, Mahābhārata, III, 130-131.

10. Bhāgavata, VII, 22; and Mahābhārata, II, 47, III, 272.

11. Vyādhakapotākhyānam (Mahābhārata, XII, 243-248).

DOCUMENT 6

Written on a sheet of hand-made paper measuring 16″ by 12″. There is nothing special to observe regarding the script, the language or punctuation. Here also, no distincition has been observed between "v" and "b".

1. The metre is *Śārdula-vikrīḍita.*

2. The reference is evidently to the mythic king, Veṇa (also spelt as "Veṇu," vide, the *Medinī*), father of Pṛithu. Mahābhārata, VII, 69; XII, 28; Bhāgavata, IV, 13; Vishṇupurāṇa I, 23).

3. The metre is *Mālinī.*

4. This and the next six verses are on the *Anushṭubh* metre.

DOCUMENT 7

The document measures 16.5″ by 6″ in size. It is written on indigenous hand-made paper, lavishly ornamented with squares in gold.

1. *Kauśaladhishṭhātṛishu*—The names of the Members are: Lt. General Sir A. Clarke, P. Speke and W. Cowper.

2. *Bundelakhaṇḍākhyarāshṭrādhīśa—See* INTRODUCTION.

DOCUMENT 8

As pointed out in the INTRODUCTION the petition which is prefaced by the Sanskrit verses in question is written in Persian. The document is 39" x 6.5" in size. It is written in good ink on country-made paper and is bespangled with gold-squares. The Sanskrit portion is written in clear and bold Ḍevanāgarī script, the Persian portion in *shikasta*. As regards orthography the only points to be noted is that the author uses *anusvāra* in place of *m*, ñ and *n*, when they are followed by consonants, and that he uses double *t* after *r*. The rule of 'ṇatva' has been violated in the spelling of the word *Mārnṭīna*. The word *tyakta* has been wrongly written as *tyatka* in the first line of the second verse.

The document itself does not contain the name of the writer. But there is a copy of it in the COPIES OF PERSIAN LETTERS RECEIVED, vol. 13, p. 385, which bears the following superscription in English: "Letter of Kashinath to Lord Mornington Governor General Received—Third June 1801."

DOCUMENT 9

The document is 19.5" x 9" in size and is written in beautiful Devanāgarī characters on country-made rag paper which has been treated with gold wash. Although some of the letters are faded the document is on the whole in a good state of preservation. As regards orthography there is no peculiarity to observe except that the practice of duplicating the consonants after *r* has been observed only in case of *t*. *N*, *n*, and *m*, when followed by other consonants, have invariably always been represented by an *anusvāra*. The *w* sound has been represented by *v* with a dot put below it. The *b* sound is indicated by the letter *v*.

1. The expression suggests a comparison of the addressee with the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu.
2. Ar. *Nawab Mustatāb*
3. Ar. *Muala-i-alqāb*
4. Ar. *Ashraf-ul-ashrāf*
5. Marquess Wellesley
6. Governor-General
7. Ar. *Dam-i-Iqb-al-e-hu*

8. Probably stands for *sants* and *mahants*. Many among the signatories are *mahants* and at least two of them call themselves *sants*.

9. Jagannātha Rājaguru, last among the signatories. Professor G. S. Das of Ravenshaw College is inclined to identify him with the Jagannātha the rebal, who was responsible for a small uprising in Khurdah just after the British occupation.

10. i. e. The 36 orders into which the immediate attendants on the god are divided. The Raja of Khurdah, the representative of the ancient royal house of Orissa holds the lowly office of sweeper to the god. According to Hunter (Orissa, Vol. I, p. 128) the Raja himself is the traditional head of the 36 orders. Prof. G. S. Das of Ravenshaw College informs me that the title borne by the Raja of Khurdah is that of the *Adhināyaka* of the 36 orders and that under him there is another officer called *nāyaka*. The present holder of the office is Dwarkanath Patjoshi Mahapatra. It is therefore evident that Kṛishṇa Chandra Mahāpātra was not the head of the 36 orders but only a *nāyaka*. The Raja's deflection from loyalty to the British power about the date of the present document perhaps explains why it is not he but Kṛishṇa Chandra who is signing on behalf of the 36 orders.

11. Is this a reference to the following text in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa :

Tato 'shṭau yavanā bhavyāś chaturdaśa cha Tushkarāh.

bhuyo daśa Guruṇḍācśha Maunā ekadaśaiva tu ?

The belief that the *Guruṇḍa* in the above text stands for Englishmen and that in the above passage the Puranic author predicted the British conquest of India is at least as old as the time when Cunningham completed his *History of the Sikhs* (1849). He informs us in that work that the Hindus of his time used to take the word *Guruṇḍa* in the Bhāgavata text as referring to the English (p. 328 n). The belief may have been actually much older. It may be noted however that the word is most probably a copyist's mistake for *Muruṇḍa*. The mss of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas give the latter reading. For further discussion on *Guruṇḍa* see *infra* DOCUMENT 24, notes.

12. Mr. G. S. Das informs me that the śloka occurs in a slightly modified form in the Kshetra-māhātmya, Utkalakhaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa, and that there the word *brahmadyairapi* has been substituted by *brāhmaṇenāpi*.

13. The three Goswami signatories, according to Mr. G. S. Das belonged to the famous Goswami family of Puri. The family

traces its descent from Nityānanda. It is reported that Śītalānanda and Kṛishṇachandra died at Athgarh near Cuttack and that their *samādhis* can still be found there.

DOCUMENT 10

The document consists of a single sheet, 13" x 9" in size, folded breadthwise about the middle.

The portion containing the text has been repaired with tracing paper, other portions by hand-made paper.

On the docket appears the entry: "Pol. 1808 Dept. (In a letter from Rest at) Delhi dt/12 Feby/Recd 26 do Translate accompd." The forwarding letter referred to is not traceable among the records of the Political Department.

On the second page of the reverse side occurs the Persian translation of the text bearing the following superscription:

"Sanskrit copy and Persian/Translation of the inscription on the rupee lately coined by Jeshavant Rao Holkar."

For comments on orthography see INTRODUCTION.

DOCUMENT 11

The document is written on an oblong sheet measuring 25.5" by 8" made of country-made rag paper. The sheet is badly torn along the left margin and many of the words in the first 25 lines are lost. On the bottom of the sheet there is an embossed stamp containing the expression *khājānā āmārā* in Devanāgarī, Bengali and Persian scripts, with its English translation "Treasury". This indicates that the paper must have been submitted by the party concerned to the Treasury office.

The document consists of two parts, the first containing the question put to the Benares pandits and the second the answer given by the latter. The first part is written in the Marathi script while the second is in Devanāgarī. As regards orthography the same peculiarities are noticed as in DOCUMENT 9. While the

first part maintains the distinction between *v* and *b* sounds this has not always been done in the second part.

1. There is a lacuna of four letters.
2. A lacuna of two letters.
3. A lacuna of four letters.
4. A lacuna of about six letters.
5. A lacuna of five letters.
6. A lacuna of two letters.
7. A lacuna of seven letters.
8. A lacuna of five letters.
9. A lacuna of three letters.
10. The syllable though somewhat faded can be read as *ta*.
11. Two letters missing.
12. Evidently a slip.
13. One letter missing.
14. Eight letters missing.
15. One letter missing.
16. Three letters missing.
17. *Āhosvit*—a particle implying doubt.
18. *Aṃkarshi-vasu-vasundharā.*—A chronogram for 9781 which when inverted yields the figure 1879. If this is referred to the Vikrama era it would become equivalent to 1822 A. D. The date of the 1st part of the document therefore will be Thursday, 9 May 1822.
19. Two letters missing.
20. The famous work by Vijñāneśvara.
21. See DOCUMENT 1, Note 4.
22. *Vyavahāra-mādhavīya*—the Vyavahāra section of the commentary by Madhvāchārya on Parāśara Smṛiti entitled the Parāśara-Smṛiti-Vyākhyā and known popularly as Parāśara-Mādhava. Madhvāchārya was the guru and minister of King Bukka, who has been identified with Bukka I (1276-93), the famous ruler of Vijayanagara. (Hultzsch, *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 36 and *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 161).
23. A lacuna of about five letters.
24. A lacuna of four letters.
25. A lacuna of three letters.
26. A lacuna of two letters.

27. A lacuna of three letters.

28. *ta(dā)bhāve*—i.e. *sarveshāṃ dāyabhājāmabhāve*

29. One letter missing.

30. Four letters missing.

31. *Nāradavachanāt*—The text referred to is not traceable in the published *Nārada-Smṛiti* (*Sacred Books of the East*).

32. Four letters missing.

33. Do.

34. Yājñavalkya, II, 135-136.

35. Four letters are missing.

36. Vishnu (*Sacred Books of the East*), 17. 4-8.

37. *Śrīmatī*—No commentary of this name is traceable. Is it to be taken as a synonym of the *Lakṣhmī-vyākhyāna* by Bālambhaṭṭa, which is an elaborate commentary on the *Mitākṣharā*.

38. Bṛihaspati, 46-48 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol.XXXIII). In the *Mitāskharā* the 3rd verse is quoted as follows "*Kulyeshu vidyamāneṣhu Pitṛibhrātṛiṣanābhishu asutaṣya pramītasya patnī tadbhāgahāriṇī* (Nirnayasagara press edition, p.217). Jolly takes the reading *pitṛimātṛi* instead of *pitṛibhrātṛi*.

39. *Ye putrā* etc.—Bṛihaspati, XXV, 68 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol.XXXIII, p. 380).

40. *Sarvābhāve* etc.—Manu, IX, 189.

41. *Ahāryam* etc.—Manu, IX, 189.

42. Nārada, XIII 52. According to Jolly the expression '*anyatra brāhmaṇat' kintu*' (unless it should be the property of a Brahman) should read together with the last sentence of the preceding verse: "In default of all, that goes to the king." It has no syntactical connexion with 'rājā dharmaparāyaṇa', (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 201-2).

43. *Yaṣmin deśe* etc.—Yājñavalkya, I, 23, 343.

44. *Jyaishṭhāsitasaptamyām*—This would fix the date of the *vyavasthāpatra* as Monday, 13th May 1822.

DOCUMENT 12

The document has two copies. The first is written on an oblong sheet of rag paper measuring about 23.5″ by 9.5″. It bears no date and no signature. The docket reads: *Persian* 1801. *Dept-Two letters from Rao Pun/dit Perdaun one to Azeim/ool omra Bahadoor*

and the other to Nawab Aseif Jah/Bahadoor, enclosed in a /letter from Stud/D/28—Nov. Evidently the docket has been put on the document by mistake. A clue to the author of the document is supplied by the 2nd copy which is also written on country-made paper and measures 22.5" by 10". It was found in the same collection with 10 other Persian documents. One of these is the Persian translation of the Sanskrit text in the present document. Another gives the history of the quarrel between Karan Singh and Ajit Singh, and the rest are documents submitted by the latter as evidence in support of his case. From an entry on the last page of the document it is clear that the original of these documents were taken back by the agent of Ajit Singh and what we have here are mere copies. All these appear to have been received in the Persian Department on 6 June 1825, and this definitely proves that the date on the docket of the first copy is entirely wrong.

The second copy gives the names of the four of the five pandits who endorsed the document (see INTRODUCTION). The text of the first copy is however less corrupt than the second and we have generally followed this copy. Important variations in reading have been noted in their proper places. As regards orthography the chief point to be noted is that no distinction is observed between the 'b' and the 'v' sounds. In other respects also the copies show the same peculiarities as DOCUMENT 1. Stops are indicated by two vertical bars in red in the first copy, and single vertical bars in black ink in the second copy.

1. Manu, IX, 216.
2. Bṛihaspati, XXV, 17-20.
3. Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 116.
4. Nārada, XIII, 15.
5. Bṛihaspati, XXV, 4.
6. Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 149.
7. *Vibhāgadharma*—This verse cannot be found in the published text of Yājñavalkya. The śloka however is quoted in the *Vyāvahāra-Mayūkha* (p. 60), where it is attributed to Vṛiddha Yājñavalkya. See also *Smṛiti-Chandrikā*, ed. J. R. Gharpure, p. 311.
8. Nārada, XIII, 34.
9. Not traceable in the published texts of Manu. But the verse is quoted in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (311).
10. Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 114.
11. Nārada, XIII 2; Jolly translates the word 'samam' as 'as they ought' (S. B.E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 189). But Dr. G.N. Jha reads the word to mean 'equally'' (*Manusmṛiti, Notes*, part III, p. 726).
3. Yājñavalkya, II, 17-20.

12. *Ūrddhvam* etc.—Manu, IX 104.

13. *Chaśabdopadāne'pi* etc.—This is also the interpretation suggested by Kullūka, Rāghavānanda, Nārāyaṇa Nandana, Parāśara Mādhava, Vīramitrodaya and Vyavahāramayūkha. The last work says that even though the text repeats the particle 'cha' yet it does not mean that both the parents should die before the property is divided (p. 41, ed. Gharpure, Bombay 1911).

14. *Yadyekajātā* etc.—Bṛihaspati, XXV, 15, 16.

15. Read *Sāpatnāstai* in place of *Sāmānyākshai.*

16. *Vyāsa* – A very frequently quoted verse of the Vyāsa-smṛiti. For a quotation by Jimūtavāhana see DOCUMENT 25. Cf. *Vyavahāramayūkha* , p. 45 ; *Vyavahāraprakāśa*, p. 451.

17. The reading given is that of the second copy. The first copy has *Samajātivimātṛijeshu.*

18. The second copy reads *Samānā* for *Samāṃśā.*

19. The reading here is that of the second copy. The first copy reads *jāta* in place of *jātā.*

20. *Sūdrasyatu* etc.—Manu, IX, 157

21. *Samavarṇāstu* etc.—Manu, IX, 156.

22. *Uddhāro na daśasu* etc—Manu, IX, 115. The word *daśasu* "out of ten" should be read in context with Manu, IX, 114, which provides that the eldest is entitled to the best of ten animals as part of his preferential share.

23. *Tattvaśukti*—The name of this treatise is otherwise unknown. Neither Kane nor Jolly seems to have been aware of its existence. The name also is not traceable in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum.*

24. Manu, IX, 121

25. *Kātyāyana*—See Kane, *Kātyāyana-Smṛitisāroddhāra*, p. 107

26. Vasishṭha, I, 5-7.

27. The reading again is that of the second copy. The first copy reads *Paṃchalasurasenajah.*

28. The second copy reads *brahmapradeśa*

29. Manu, – II, 17, 19-20. The word *agrajanmanah* has been wrongly taken by the authors of the document to mean 'from an elder brother (earlier born)'. The real meaning according to Bühler (*Laws of Manu*, p. 33) is 'from a Brāhmaṇa'

30. The reading is that of the second copy, the first copy gives the reading *bibhajyeshu.*

31. Read *pratīpākāṃkshāyām.*

32. *Vaṃśa Priyabratasya etc.*—Bhāgavata, V. 1. Priyabrata was a son of Svāyambhuva Manu. He was invested by Brahman with the sovereignty of the whole world. On his death he divided the continents entrusted to him among his seven sons.

33. *Āgnīdhrasuta*—Bhāgavata, II. Āgnīdhra was invested by his father Priyabrata with the administration of Jambudvīpa. While he was practising austerities on the mountain Mandara he come across a celestial nymph called Pūrvachitti. From their union sprang nine sons who gave name to the 9 subdivisions of Jambudvīpa.

34. *Nīpa*—Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 114-116.

35. *Bhalanda*—Read *Bhananda.* (Mārkandeyapurāṇa 114-116. Bhananda was the son by a Vaiśya woman, of Nābhāga, son of Dishṭya. The story is that he was deprived of his inheritence by his uncles. But he received his training in the art of war from the royal sage Nīpa. On his return he claimed back his territories. The issue was decided in his favour by a civil war.

36. Bhāgavata, III.

37. - do - IX, 4.

38. Read Bhīshma-Droṇa-Srīkṛishṇa-Gāndhārī-vākyakrama.

DOCUMENT 13

The document is written on a sheet of hand-made paper measuring 19.25" by 6.5". The writing is mostly in black excepting for the word *chhatrabaṃdha chitram*, which is in red. The letters composing the *chhatrabandha* have each been placed in a square made of red lines, and the squares have been arranged together in the form of an umbrella. The figure of the umbrella is followed by two other figures each made up of similar squares. The first consists of two vertical columns (each containing two rows of squares). The tops of the columns are joined by a pair of curve lines in red, thus giving the figure the appearance of an archway. The second figure is in the shape of a column made of three rows of small square. In each row we have the following letters arranged vertically: kālikāmamalābhāchayaśālāturasāpate. The same letters are to be found in the four rows composing the first figure but arranged in a reverse order. The document is decorated with small squares in gold. It also contains a translation of the introductory verse in Urdu.

Put in prose order the verse would read (*He*) *chayaśālāturasāpate rasāpa amalābhā mamalābhācha Kālikā yaśā te ām lātu.*

Chayaśālā – *chayasya sālā* or a place for storing wealth, treasury (see *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*).

Āturasā –harbour (from *ātu* 'a ship' and *rasā* 'a place'.)

Rāsāpa – *rasām pāti iti*, protector of the earth.

Amalābhā – of pure lustre.

Mamalābhā – she whose splendour (*ābhā*) affects Śiva (*ma*) Brahman (*ma*) and Vāyu (la).

Kālikā – *kān* (i. e.. divine progenitors) *alati* (*bhūshayati*) *iti kālih.* "*Kah prajapatiruddishtah*" (*Amarakosha*). By adding *kan* to the word *kāli* we have *kālikā*, meaning 'she who illumines the divine progenitors.' The second expression *kālikā* signifies the goddess *Kālikā.*

Yaśā– *Īm* (*Lakshmīm*) *aśnute it tena* i.e with renown.

Ām – *maṃgalam.* Peace and prosperity (*pūjāyām chāpi māngalye ākārah parikīrtitah*—Amarakosha)

As in the preceding document no distinction has been observed between 'v' and 'b'.

DOCUMENT 14

Written on hand-made paper. Measures 33.5" by 6.5". the script is Devanāgarī. The text is full of misspelt words and in many cases words and even sentences are found missing. Besides the Sanskrit *vyavasthā* the sheet also contains a free translation of it in Persian, which is followed by the following words written in Devanāgarī—*kritarāshadhī Samūhadrolpadhī karuṇanidhih sadhanyobidhih.* Apparently the document is a copy made by a transcriber who was innocent of Sanskrit. That this is a mere copy is also clear from an original Persian document annexed to the *vyavasthā*, which bears the seal of Ghulam Bhikā, the agent of Rani Sukhan of Jagadhri who, it appears from Political Proceedings, 14 Oct. 1829, nos. 147-49, made a petition on the latter's behalf to the Supreme Government. It appears from the Persian document that he had taken back the original Sanskrit *vyavasthā* with its Persian translation on 28 Sept. 1829. It further appears from the Political Proceedings referred to above that this *vyavasthā* along with Ghulam

Bhika's petition was received by Government on 11 August 1829. The document itself bears no date, and has been wrongly docketed as follows: "1829/ In a letter from the/ Acting Chief Secy. Bombay/ Dt. 14 July/ R 12 Aug/ no 476/ with translation". Evidently the docket belongs to some other document.

1. *Aparārka* or Aparāditya author of *Yājñavalkyīyadharmaśāstra-nibandha.* According to Bühler he belonged to the Konkanese branch of the Silāhāra dynasty and wrote between 1140-1186 A. D., (*Kashmir Report,* p. 52)

2. Manu—IX, 196. The verse appears in Aparārka, p. 753, (Anandashrama edition, 1903).

3. Yājñavalkya—II, 8, 185.

4. *Viveka*—Smṛitiviveka of Śūlapāṇi (c. 1200 A. D.)?

5. *Madanapārijāta*—A treatise on law written by Viśveśvara-bhaṭṭa under the auspices of Madanapāla (dated c. 1375 A. D.). Published in *Bibliotheca Indica Series.*

6. *Tatpratyāsannānām*—The text of the *Mitākshara* contains the word *sapiṇḍānām* after *Tatpratyāsannānām* (Nirnayasagara Press edn., p. 229)

7. *Ekaśeshanirdishṭāyā*—The reference is to the following passage in the *Mitāksharā*:—yadyapi yugapadadhikaraṇa-vachanatāyām dvandvasmaraṇāt tadapavādatvādekaśeshasya dhanagrahaṇe pitroh kramo na pratīyate tathāpi vigrahavākye matṛiśabdasya pūrvanipātādekaśeshābhāvapakshe cha mātapitarāviti mātṛiśabdasya pūrvaṃ śravaṇāt pāṭha-kramādevārthakramāddhanasaṃvandhe'pikramāpekshāyāṃ pratītakramāṇurodhenaiva prathamaṃ mātā dhanabhāk tadābhāve piteti gamyate".

The passage is translated by Colebrooke as follows:—"Although the order in which the parents succeed to the estate does not clearly appear from the tenour of the text, since a conjunctive compound is declared to present the meaning of its several terms at once; and the omission of one term and retention of the other constitutes an exception to that (complex expression), yet as the word 'mother' stands first in the phrase into which that is resolvable, and is first in the regular compound *matapitarau* 'mother and father' when not reduced (to the simpler form *pitarau* parents) by the omission of one term and retention of the other; it follows from the order of the terms and that of the sense which is thence deduced, and according to the series thus presented in answer to an enquiry concerning the order of succession, that the mother takes the estate in the first instance; and, on failure of her, the father. (*Two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritence,* p. 344).

8. *Tadābhāve pitus*—This is wanting in the published text of the Mitāksharā.

9. *Māturduhitarah śesham*—The reference is to Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 117.

10. *Patnī duhitara etc.*—Yājñavalkya, II 8, 135-6.

11. *Śarīrārdham etc.*—*See* DOCUMENT 12, Note 32.

12. Supply the following words after *tadābhāve duhitṛigāmi*:—*tadābhāve pitṛigāmi tadābhāve mātṛigāmi.* Vishṇu, XIII, 4-17.

DOCUMENT 15

Written on one side of a sheet of what seems to be country-made paper. Measures 10.5″ by 5.5″. The document bears the signature of the author. The text is apparently in the hand of the signatory. The date of the document is given in the concluding sentence as the 8th day (bahula divasa) of the second month of Bhādra, V. S. 1890 = Saturday 17 Sept. 1833. The style is faulty and there are a good many spelling mistakes.

1. *Lātasāhevabahādurasabhāsoma*—Macnaghten was at this date in charge of the Secret and Political Department of the Fort William Government and rightly deserved the honorific bestowed on him.

2. *Gharib parwar*—(Persian) 'cherisher of the poor'

3. Obviously a slip. But it is difficult to guess the word the author had in mind.

4. There is a play on the word *guṇa*, which is used here to indicate both 'merit' and the grammatical rule under which the vowels 'i', 'u' etc. change into 'e', 'o' etc. The meaning of the sentence is, 'though the term *guṇa* usually signifies merit, by coming in contact with the root *dush* it has led only to the enhancement of my demerits (*dosha*)'.

5. Read 'mitirittham'.

DOCUMENT 16

Written on one side of a sheet of English paper measuring 10″ by 8″. The watermark reads, 'G. Wilmot 1831. The signa-

ture is that of the author, and the text appears to be in the same hand. The date of this letter is given as "the 20th day of the current month" in document no. 17. As the latter document is dated the 27th of Āśvin, the 'current month' should be taken to mean the month of Āśvin. This would fix the date of the document as 5th October 1833, if we refer it to the Bengali era. From the docket also it appears that the letter was delivered on the 5th October.

1. *Ryecroft Best*—see INTRODUCTION. p. 59n.

DOCUMENT 17

Written on one side of a sheet of what seems to be country-made paper. The paper bears no watermark. Measures 12.5" by 8". Bears the signature of the author. The text is also in the author's hand. The date given is 27th Āśvin which, when referred to the Bengali era, corresponds to 18th October 1833.

1. Reference is to DOCUMENT no. 16.
2. Read *Āśvinasya*.

DOCUMENT 18

Written on one side of a sheet of English paper measuring 8.7" by 14". The watermark reads, "Green and Sons 1832". The document bears neither any signature nor any date. The docket reads "1834/In a petition from Umbaram Shastree/the surviving son & Luchmee Bhyee/the widow of the late Venkat Ram Shastree. D/R (i.e. Receipt) 29 Novr." The script is Marathi, and the text is on the whole free from corruption.

1. The *Mitākshara*, Nirnayasagara Press edition, p. 223.
2. Manu, VII, 135-136.
3. Ibid, VII, 3-7.
4. Ibid, 86.
5. Ibid, VIII, 27.

DOCUMENT 19

The Document is written on one side of a sheet of hand-made paper measuring about 12.75"×15.75". The watermark

reads 'Webster/1833'. The actual writing occurs on the left half of the sheet and covers an area of 15.75" × 5.5". A space of about two inches intervene between the text and the superscription. Characters are bold and regular. The script is Devanāgarī. No distinction is observed between 'v' and 'b'. Ṅ, 'ṇ' 'n' and 'm' do not change into *anusvāra* when preceding other consonants. The rule under which consonants become duplicated after r has been scrupulously followed. Full stops are indicated by two vertical bars, shorter stops by single bars, and inverted commas by a pair of small vertical bars written on the top of the initial and final letters of the quoted passage. The document bears the signatures of its authors, but gives no date. The date can be approximately fixed with the help of the docket which reads: 1833/In a lr from the offg. Secrety/to the Government of Agrah/Dt. 31st Octr/R/24/Nov./T.A. On the reverse side of the sheet occurs the following:—Baiwasta, or opinion of the/principal pandits of Benares, declaring the/person named Rutton Singh who now/sits on the guddy of Chirkhauri, to have/no right to it, and that Deewan Khait Singh/Son of Luchman Singh is the rightful/owner. A translation in English/accompanys this". The document itself gives only 8 signatures, which shows that a portion of the document containing the 9th signature has been torn away. The name of the 9th signatory is given as Subba Sastri in the English translation. (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 no. 14).

1. *Jagadrājasiṃha*—Second son of Chhatrasal according to Luard (*Central India State Gazetteer*, P. 208) and third son according to Aitchison (*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V. p. 16). He is said to have received Jaitpur, Ajaigarh and Banda at the time of the partition of his father's territories in 1732. In 1739 Jagatraj called in the Peshwa to assist him against Muhammad Khan Bangash. Died in 1758.

2. Luard (*Loc. cit*) mentions eight sons, instead, of four, and gives their names in the following order : Kirat Singh, Pahar Singh, Bir Singh, Senapat, Kehri Singh, Hate Singh, Khet Singh, Arjun Singh, Devi Singh, Kharg Singh and Kalyan Singh. All were not possibly legitimate issue. Bir Singh, for instance, was an illegitimate son according to Aitchison (*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V, p. 24).

3. According to Luard the fourth son of Jagatraj. He succeeded to the latter's territories in Dalippur (*C. I. State Gazetteer*, p. 208.)

4. Evidently the same as 'Pahar Singh' of Luard's Genealogical Table (*Op. cit.*). He was the second son of Jagatraj. On the latter's death he ousted his nominee Guman Singh from the Chiefship of Jaitpur and forced the latter to take refuge in the

fort of Charkhari. In 1761 however he came to terms with his nephews and assigned them territories. Guman Singh received Banda and Ajaigarh while Khuman Singh the Chiefship of Charkhari.

5. Kehari Singh. According to Luard's Genealogical Table the fifth son of Jagatraj who was settled in Toria Kulpahar.

6. Kirata Singh, the eldest son of Jagatraj according Luard's Table. He pre-deceased his father.

7. *Shumānasiṃha*—Khuman Singh of Luard's Table. On him see INTRODUCTION.

8. Same as Dhundsingh of Luard's Table.

9. 'Bijai Bahadur' of Luard's Table. On him see INTRODUCTION.

10. Only the last of the three princes viz. Govindadas is mentioned by Aitchison (*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V, p. 22) and is described by him as the 'only legitimate son of Bijaibahadur'. He died in 18?2.

11. On Khedasiṃha (Khet Singh) see INTRODUCTION.

11*a*. The verse is quoted by *Smṛitichandrikā* (p. 290).

12. Manu, IX, 155.

13. Devala according to Kane flourished some time between the second or fourth century A. D. The original texts of Devala are lost, but fragments still survive in the form of quotations in later works like the *Mitāksharā*, the *Smṛitichandrikā* etc. The verse is quoted in a number of legal commentaries, e.g. *Vyavahāramayūkha* (p. 85), *the Mitākshara*, (p. 125) and the *Parāśaramādhavīya*, (p. 506.)

14. Yājñavalkya, II, 133.

15. Reference is evidently to the edition of Vīramitrodaya brought out by Calcutta Sanskrit Press in 1815.

16. Yājñavalkya, II, 125.

17. Madanaratna (Bikanir Manuscript Library No. 142, *vide* L. S. Joshi, *Dharmakosha*, Vol. 1, p. 1403). The verse also occurs in *the Dāyabhāga*, p. 141.

18. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, 28, 39 (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II).

19. Manu, IX, 168.

DOCUMENT 20

Written on side one of a sheet of indigenous hand made paper measuring 8"×10.5". Characters are bold and regular. The script is Devanāgarī. The beginning of a fresh line is indicated by two vertical bars, which are also used to denote full stops. As regards orthography the only point to be noticed is that *m* followed by consonants is substituted by *anusvāras*. Exceptions are provided by *m* preceding gutturals and palatals. In one case *nt* has been changed into *ṃt*. The rule of repeating consonants after *r* has been followed only in one case. The cover, which is made of the same paper as the document, has also been preserved. For date see notes 7 and 8 *infra*.

1. The name of Śri Rāma is used presumably because the Ranas of Mewar trace their descent directly from him. All official documents of the Udaypur State begin with this superscription. (*cf. Vir Vinod*, Pt. XVI, pp. 1795, 1806.)

2. *Ekaliṃga*—'with one limga', the name under which Śiva is worshipped by the Śiśodia dynasty as its patron deity. The temple of Ekalimga is situated at a place called Eklingji 12 miles to the north of Udaipur. The original building is believed to have been constructed by Bappa Pawal and was destroyed by the Muslims. The present temple is of unique design "having a double storeyed porch and sanctuary, the former covered by a flat pyramidical roof composed of many hundred circular knobs, and the latter roofed by a lofty tower of more than ordinary elaboration". The image is that of a fore-faced god and is made of black-marble, (Fergusson, *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture*, 1848). Since Bappa's time the Chiefs of Mewar have been vicegerents of Ekalimga.

3. *Panditarāja Śri Raṃganātha*—The following entry about him occurs in Foreign Department Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 135 (Gentlemen having dealings with the British Government, 1814-18): "He is also styled Rajgooroo having been officially as such for 13 years while Gajraj Misser was in Benares to which place he had retired during the disturbance created by Ran Bahadur. Ranganath is Guru to the Ranees as to the most of the Principal Sardars who in like manner have their gooroos". It is learnt from the same source that his brothers Kishen Pandit Bishnoram and Narain were also at the Nepalese Court. Principal Rudraraj Pande of Katmandu College tells me that Raṃmganātha was a brother of the famous 'Raghunath Pandit', Prime Minister of Nepal between 1837 and 1838, (Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, pp. 160-63).

4. *Śardārasiṃha*—On him see INTRODUCTION, p. 14, Note 21. He belonged to the Bagor family and was adopted by Jawan

Singh. He succeeded the latter on 30th August 1838. He was very unpopular with his nobles and with a view to consolidating his power tried to subsidise a regiment of infantry to be stationed in his capital. This move however did not succeed as the proposal did not find favor with the paramount power. He died on the 14th July 1842 and was succeeded by his brother, Sarup Singh, whom he had adopted. (See Erskine, *Mewar Residency*, p. 27; *Vir Vinod*, Part, XVII; J. C. Brooke, *History of Mewar*, Calcutta, 1859).

5. *Javāna Siṃha*—i e. Jawan Singh (1828-38). He succeeded his father Bhim Singh II on the 31st March, 1828. During his regime the tribute to the paramount British authority fell heavily into arrears, and he bequeathed to his successor a debt of about 19 lakh rupees. He died on 10 Bhādra, bright fortnight, V. S. 1895, (30th August, 1838). For the events of his reign see *Vir Vinod*, Part XVI. According to this work he was a very popular ruler, highly esteemed for his kind disposition and munificence. Three wives and six concubines became *sati* with him. (*Ibid*, p. 1808).

6. *Āśoja*—vernacular corruption of *Āśvina*.

7. The date when referred to the Northern Vikrama era, corresponds to 21st September 1838.

8. *Kārttika-kṛishṇa-dvitīyā*—i. e. 5th October 1838. The first date probably refers to the one on which the letter was actually drafted, and the second, the one on which it was delivered to the Nepalese Mission. It appears from Col. Spier's letter to Hodgson dated 14 Oct. 1838 (Secret Consultation, 21 Nov. 1838 no. 169) that the mission actually left Udaipur on the latter date.

DOCUMENT 21

Written on one side of a sheet of country-made paper, a little yellowish in colour and thicker and smoother than the paper used for the previous document. Size 13.75" x 8". Letters are bold and regular, and are probably in the same hand as the previous document. The document is heavily ornamented with squares in gold. As regards orthography almost the same characteristics are to be observed as in the previous document. The rule of duplicating consonants after *r* has been followed

in two cases only, e. g. *varyya* and *durjjana*. As regards punctuation the same observations hold good as made in respect of DOCUMENT 20. The date of the document is *Kārttika-kṛishṇa dvitīyā*, V. S. 1895 (=5 Oct. 1838).

1. *Śrīśa*—Reference is probably to the god *Śrīnātha*, who has his temple at Nāthadwāra, a town 30 miles north by north-east of the Udaipur city. This image is said to have been originally placed by Vallabhacharya in a temple at Muttra in 1495. Expelled by Aurangzeb from that town, his descendants wandered about Rajputana till 1671, when Maharana Raj Singh invited some of them to Mewar. A village was endowed for the worship of Srīnātha, a temple was soon erected for his reception, and a town was built and called Nāthādwāra (the Portal of God) after his name. The Ranas of Mewar have therefore every right to describe themselves as *Śrīśa-pada-paṃkaja-sevanāvāpta-sakala-manoratha*.

2. *Paśupatīśvara*—i. e. Pasupatinātha, the guardian deity of Nepal. The temple at Pashpati, a small town near Katmandu, is considered to be the most sacred of all Hindu shrines in Nepal. The emblem of the deity together with the legend Paśupati have been found inscribed on a number of Nepalese coins (*Cf.* Walsh *Coinage of Nepal*, Plate I, no 10) and his image is depicted in the royal arms of Nepal.

3. *Rājendra Śrīvikramāśāha*—on him see INTRODUCTION.

4. *Asmadvaṃśyā*—On the tradition regarding the relation of kinship between the Sesodia dynasty of Udaipur and the Gurkha dynasty of Nepal see *Vir Vinod*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1848-49 and Perceval Landon, *Nepal* Vol. I, pp. 40, 42.

5. *Mahetā-Rāma-Siṃha*—Dewan of Mewar. The name is spelt as Mahatārama in *Vir Vinod* (p. 180). For the English translation of the letter referred to see INTRODUCTION, p. 23, note 53.

DOCUMENT 22

Written on one side of a sheet of indigenous hand-made paper measuring 8″×6.5″. The writing is in the same hand as that of DOCUMENT 12. The letters are bold and regular. The script is Devanāgarī. The document is embellished with small squares in gold. The Sanskrit text is followed by an Urdu translation which covers 3 lines. The document bears no date.

DOCUMENT 23

Written on both sides of a sheet of hand-made paper measuring 12" × 7.75". Both paper and ink are in a good state of preservation. The lettering is regular and the language free from errors. As regards orthography the only points noticeable are—(1) substitution of *ṅ*, *m*, *ñ* and *n* by *ṃ* before consonants and (2) use of single consonants after *r*. Full stops are indicated by double vertical bars and shorter pauses by single ones. The document contains neither any date nor any signature. But its approximate date can be fixed with the help of two other documents which have been found in the same collection, viz. two petitions in Urdu dated 26 June, 1853 from Tai Saheba and Baya Saheba, daughters of Baji Rao II (vide INTRODUCTION, pp. 29-30). The present document was enclosed with the second petition.

1. Amarakosha, VI, 27.

2. Ṛigveda-khila, 10.85 2a.

3. Manu VIII, 193. The sloka is quoted in Nirukta, III, 4.

4. Amarakosha, V, 39.

5. Reference is probably to *Manvartha-vivṛiti* by Nārāyaṇa Sarvajña (1100-1300 A. D.).

6. *Niruktavedāṃga*—i. e. Nirukta of Yāska.

The passage referred to is probably the following :—

" praśāsti vaḍhā santānakarmaṇe duhituh putrabhāvaṃ. duhitā durhitā. dūre hitā, dogdhervā. naptāramupāgamat dauhitram pauttramiti. vidvān prajananayajñasya. retaso ·vā. aṅgādaṅgātsaṃbhūtasya hṛidayādahijātasya mātari pratyṛitasya vidhānam pūjayan. aviśeshena mithunāh putrāh dāyādāh iti," (III,4), Yāska's *Nirukta*, vol. I, ed. V. K. Rajavade, p. 44. The above text is really a comment on the Ṛigveda hymn III. 31.1., which Yāska considers as establishing the daughter's claim to succession to paternal estates. But Yāska himself admits the possibility of the text being interpreted in a different way and states, *na duhitarah ityeke* (i. e. according to some daughters are not entitled to inheritence). He quotes the following passage from Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (4. 6. 4) in support : *tasmāt pumān dāyādo' dāyādā strī.*

7. *Āśvalāyana-gṛihya-sūtravṛitti*—The reference is not readily traceable, but the Vedic literature abounds with examples of the word *putra* being used in the generic sense of 'issue': e. g. *Pumāṃsaṃ putraṃ janaya* (Atharvaveda, 3.23. 3a) ; *Pumāṃsaṃ putram ādhehi* (Ṛigvada-khila, 10.184.3); *Pumān putro jāyate vindate vasu* (Vājasāneyī Saṃhitā, 8. 5. 6). The *Uvatabhāshya* (commentary on Suklayajurvedasaṃhitā) interprets the passage as follows; "*duhitāpi putraśabdenochyate ityatah pumāniti viśeshyate*".

8. *Vyākaraṇakaumudī*—i. e. the 'Siddhānta-Kaumudī' of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣhita (c. 1630-93 A. D.)

9. *Manoramā*—Prauḍhamanoramā, a commentary on the 'Siddhānta-Kaumudī' written by Bhaṭṭoji himself.

DOCUMENT 24

The document consists of two detached sheets each measuring 10.5" x 8.125". The paper is indigenous and hand-made, and is of light blue colour. Each sheet has been placed in a separate folder, apparently under the impression that they are parts of two entirely different documents. That this view is wrong will be clear from the following considerations. The paper of both the sheets is of the same texture, thickness and colour. The writing is in the same ink and the same hand. The forms of the letters and their arrangement show the same peculiarities. The style of the text in each case exemplifies the same eccentricities and mannerisms and even the same errors in grammar and diction. The text on the first page of the first sheet ends abruptly, and there is a gap between this and the second page, which is very easily filled in by the texts on the second sheet, even though the closing words on the first page of the former are lost. The text of the first page gives the superscription, the formal compliments used in petitions of this kind and part of the narrative the petitioner relates. The first page ot the second sheet continues the narrative and the text of the petition ends on the second page of the sheet. This is followed by a list of the articles lost by the petitioner. This page contains only 6 items, each being a gold ornament. The second page of the first begins with the names of a few more ornaments. At the end of the names we have the remark "all these are articles made of gold set with gems," which clearly proves that the list is really a continuation of the list on the second page of the second sheet. We may therefore safely conclude that the two sheets originally formed parts of a single sheet, which later tore into two pieces through some accident. Being separated from each other, the pieces were easily mislaid and were treated as two separate documents at the time of repair. The text on the sheet therefore should be rearranged in the following order:—(1) the text on the first sheet, page 1, (2) that of the second sheet, page 1, (3) that of the second sheet, page 2, and (4) the text on the first sheet, page 2.

This view is further confirmed by the fact that the date of petition indicated in the text on the first sheet is identical with that given in the statement attached to the second sheet.

The script used in the text is Devanāgarī. The forms of letters are regular and neat. There are very few noticeable peculiarities about orthography. The letters *ṅ*, *ñ*, *m*, and *n* before consonants invariably always change into *anusvāra*. Consonants do not undergo any change after *r*. In two cases *chchh* has been replaced by *chh*. The style is faulty. The rule *samānakartṛikebhyah tumun* has been consistently violated e. g. *chaurastu brāhmaṇaśirasi śastram prahṛitya urasi lattā-prahāram kṛitvā mūrchitah*, (here the verb *mūrchita* is not governed by the subject of the *lyavanta* verbs *prahṛitya* and *kṛitvā*). Examples of subjects without finite verbs are numerous. The subject *vayam*, for instance, in the sentence immediately following the expression *nivedanīyāṃśastu* has no finite verb to agree with it. In a number of cases, again, the nominative in an active construction has been made to govern a passive verb, e. g. *vayaṃ paṃchānapuratah gayām samāgatya vijñaptipatram dattam*". In the following example the nominative absolute appears with the first case-ending whereas its verb appears with the seventh case-ending: *Sa pṛishṭe.*

The space between the *maṅgalācharaṇa* and the actual text of the letter has been filled in by the following remarks in English:—"The humble petition of Bishnath Dikshit Pundit of Beenoy Sing/Rajah of Ulwar near Jeypore./The petitioner requests that the Govt order which will be passed on this petition/may be forwarded to him at Ulwar near Jeypore." The ink used is different from that in which the text is written.

At the bottom of the text on the second sheet, page 2 occur the following remarks in Persian script—*Hukm shud kih sāil darkhāst-i-khud peshgah sāhib leftant governor behādur bangāl guzrānad, faqaṭ tahrir tārikh* 23 *jūn* 1854 *īsavī* (i. e. ordered that the petitioner should present his application to the Lt. Governor of Bengal, that is all, written on 23 June 1854 A. D.)

On the right margin of the page appear the following words in Persian script: '*num* 155 *Pandiṭ Bishunaṭh Dikshit Agnihotre gayā.*

Evidently both these writings are in the hand of some employee of the Persian Branch of the late Foreign and Political Department.

The statement annexed to the second sheet reveals that the letter was dated 15 May 1854 and was received in the Persian Office on 3 June. The order given on the petition reads: "Petitioner/shd address/to the Lieut Gov. of Bengal/J.D." The initial is

evidently that of J. W. Dalrymple, the then officating Under Secretary to the Government of India.

1. *Gaurāṁḍa*—Evidently the same as the word *guruṇḍa* which occurs in the *Bhavishyānukīrttana* Section of almost all the principal Purāṇas. The word is known to have been used in the sense of Englishmen or Europeans as early as the middle of the 19th century (see *Supra* DOCUMENT 9, Note 11). It was probably on the strength of the following passage in the Matsyapurāṇa that the word came to be interpreted in this way: "The earth is remembered as belonging to the Tukhāras 7000 years. The 13 future Guruṇḍas along with low castemen, all of Mlechchha origin, will enjoy it half four hundred years." (*Matsyapurānam*, Anandasrama edition, p. 273). As the word *Tukhāras* could easily be taken to mean Turks or Muslims it must have appeared quite logical to identify the *gurundas* with white men, who, in popular view, were of Mlechchha origin. Platt vouches for the word *gorand* which, obviously, is a corrupt form of *guruṇḍa*, being used in the Hindi dialects in the sense of 'destroyer of religious faith" (i. e. Mlechchas) at the time when he compiled his *Dictionary* (1884). There seems, therefore, little doubt that the petitioner has taken the word to mean 'Mlechchha' or white men and has changed it into *Gaurāṁḍa* to make it look more Sanskritic.

2. *Kilakilā*—apparently a Sanskritisation of the word *Kālikātā* (Calcutta). Literally the word would mean wife of Kilakila (Śiva) or Kālī. As Calcutta is popularly known as the city of Kālī, it would be quite appropriate to equate the name with Kilakilā. The term however may have been derived in a different way. In the *Matsyapaurāṇa* the term *Kilakila* is used to represent a group of foreign rulers who were destined to rule the earth at some future date. The corresponding passage in the *Vishṇupurāṇa* gives the name of the race as the *Kailakilas*, and describe them as *Yavanas*. Since Europeans could very easily be termed *Yavanas*, it must have seemed very appropriate to the petitioner to identify them with the *Kilakilas* or *Kailakilas* and to term their city *Kilakilā*. That the *Kailakila* kings had their seat of power in a city called *kilikilā* is vouched for by a passage in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Ganapat Krishnaju Press edition, XII, 32). Calcutta has certainly some claim to be considered the city of the Europeans par excellence.

3. *Alavara*—Alwar.

4. *Rāvarāja*—Rao Raja, the title of the Chief of Alwar.

5. *Vinayasiṁha*—on him see INTRODUCTION, p. 60.

6. *Viśvanātha Dīkshita*—See INTRODUCTION, p. 60, n. 115.

7. *Kshayābda*—Kshaya is the name of the last year of the famous Bṛihaspati chakra system of calculation found in the *Sūrya*

siddhānta. The 1st of the 84th cycle according to this system commenced in 1794. As the cycle consists of 60 years, the last year of the 84th cycle would correspond to 1854.

8. *Jyeṣṭha-kṛishṇa* 3—corresponds to 15 May 1854. This, incidentally, is the date of the document as stated in the statement attached to this letter.

9. *Kīkaṭa*—i. e. South Bihar. The word Kīkaṭa occurs in the Ṛigveda (III 53.14) as the name of a tribe. Yāska (Nirukta, VI. 32) declares it to be the name of a non-Aryan country. But in later literature it is given as a synonym of Magadha.

10. *Argalāpura*—No place of this name is traceable. Is it a Sanskritised form of Agra?

11. *Modanārāyaṇasiṃhagrāme*—Evidently it was a village or a market place named after Raja Modanārāyaṇasiṃha (Modanarayan Sinh), son of Maharaja Mitrajit Sinh of Tikari. (Hunter, *A statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XII, p. 52; *Bengal District Gazetteer*: *Gaya*, p. 238). No village bearing the name however is traceable.

12. *Śastram*—Used probably not in the generic sense of a weapon, but in the specific sense of a śastrī or dagger, cf. *paṇyastrīshu vivekakalpalatikāśastrīshu rajyate kah*.

13. *Lattāprahāram*.—Molesworth explains the expression as vigorous or active kicking' (*Marathi and English Dictionary*). The word *lattā* occurs in Ardhamāgadhi Prakrit literature in the sense of kicking. (Muni Sri Ratnachandraji, *An illustrated Ardha-Māgadhi Dictionary*). It is evident that the word has been borrowed by Marathi from Ardhamāgadhī, which was one of the most influential Western Prakrits.

14. *Barakandāja*—Arabic-Persian *Barqandaz*, literally a lightening-thrower, hence an armed foot-soldier. According to Platt the word can also denote a peon from a police station, which is the sense in which it has been used here.

15. *Paṃchānapura*—Panchanpur, ('Pochanonpur' of Buchanan, *Journal kept during the Survey of the District of Patna and Gaya*) a village 13 miles west of Gaya, situated on the West bank of the Mohrar river, just near the place where it meets the Buddh river.

16. *Kartari*—Marathi derivative from Sanskrit *Kartarī* scissors.

17. *Chiṃṭā*—a Desī word of unknown origin, meaning tongs.

18. *Kuṃji*—Marathi and Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *Kūnchikā* 'keys'.

19. *Ṭakari*—i. e. Tekari, town in the Gaya Sub-division on the left bank of the Morhar river 16 miles north west of Gaya.

It is the ancient seat of the Tekari family and contains the fort of the Rajas (*Bengal District Gazetteers: Gaya*, p. 237)

20. *Jamādāra*—Persian *Jamadar*, literally, head of a body of men. The word usually denotes a native officer of the second rank in a company of sepoys, but it is also applied to officers of police second to the *darogha* (or Sub-inspector).

21. *Mājishṭara*—a corruption of the world 'magistrate'.

22. *Ṭhāṇā*—Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *sthāna* (a station or post). Here used in the sense of a police station. Cf. Marathi *Thāṇe* (a post or station under the civil authority), Bengali *thānā* (a police station), and Sanskrit *thānādhyaksha* (a police officer).

23. *Vyavahārānnṛipah paśyet vidvadbhih brāhmaṇaih saha, dharmaśāstrānusāreṇa krodhalobha-vivarjitah*, Yājñavalkya II. 1.

24. *Śrutādhyayana etc*—Yājñavalkya, II, 2.

25. *Rāgāllobhat etc.* —Yājñavalkya, II, 4.

26. *Grāhakairgṛihyate etc.* —Yājñavalkya, II, 266.

27. *Sāhasasteyaparushyagobhiśāpatyaye striyām, vishādayet sadya eva kālonyatricchhaya smṛitah*—Yājñavalkya, II, 12.

28. *Durdṛishṭāṃstu etc.*—Yājñavalkya, II, 305.

29. *Ghāṭite'pahṛite etc.*—Yājñavalkya II, 271.

30. *Goṭhā*—probably the same as *goṭh* which, according to Jñanendramahan Das (*Bangla Abhidhān*) means a chain-like girdle for waist. In Upper India the word is used to denote a wristlet. Considering that the ornament was 18 tolahs in weight the second meaning should be more appropriate.

31. *To 36 1 17* is not very intelligible. Perhaps the meaning is '36 tolahs, one tolah being equivalent to Rs. 17.' On this view 36 tolahs would cost Rs. 612, which is exactly the figure quoted on the left of the word *goṭhajoḍī*. That figure, theretore, should be taken as representing the price of the ornament. That the petitioner has calculated the cost of all his gold ornaments at the rate of Rs. 17 per tolah will also be clear from the figures he gives for the other items in his list. The cost of 1 pair of *pāṭali* weighing 12 tolahs is given Rs. 204, that of 2 pairs of *kaṃgaṇā* weighing 4 tolahs as Rs. 68, that of *hasuli*, weighing 6 tolahs as Rs. 102, that of *sarī* weighing 16 tolahs as Rs. 221 and that of *viṃdali* weighing 4 tolahs as Rs. 68. This would leave very little room for doubt that the figures on the left represent the value of the items listed in terms of Rupees.

32. *Pāṭalī*—Marathi *pāṭalī*, a bracelet of gold and pearls (Molesworth—*Marathi English Dictionary*).

33. *Kamganā*—Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *kankana* (bracelet), c. f. Marathi *kamgano.*

34. *Hasulī*—a collar of gold etc. Platt derives the word from Prakrit *hamśaullia.*

35. *Sarī*—a chain of twisted gold or silver wire. Derived from Sanskrit *sarī* and *ikā* according to Platt.

36. *Vimdali*—Is it the same as Marathi *bindale* (derived from Sanskrit *bindu*) meaning an ornament for the wrist of children, or is it rather not a derivative from the Hindi word *bindi* (or Marathi *bindi*) meaning an ornament or fillet worn by women on forehead? Cf. *ṭikalī* > *ṭīkā.*

37. 20 *da* 1 15 would mean '20 at Rs. 15 each'. *Da* is evidently an abbreviation of *dar* 'price.' On this view the figure 300 on the left of the word *mohara jayapuri* should be taken as representing the total value in rupees of 20 coins.

38. *Maharāja Śaśāra* (?) The name is not easily identifiable. But from the figure on the left side it appears that the coins referred to were of the same value as Jaipuri coins.

39. *Mohara Lakhanī*—Lucknow coin i. e. gold coin issued from the Lucknow mint. It appears from Prinsep's *Useful Tables* that the Lucknow gold coins had a weight of 166 grains and contained 164·70 grains of pure gold. Its price was accordingly slightly higher than Jaipuri gold coins which weighed 174.99 grains and contained 164.05 grains of pure gold.

40. *Putalī*—The fact that *putalīs* have been valued at Rs. 5½ each argues in favour of the word being taken as Marathi *putalī* meaning a gold coin valued at Rs. 4/- each. The word may also mean a statuette.

41. *Ṭikalī*—an ornament worn on the forehead, probably derived from Sanskrit *ṭikā* meaning a spangle on the forehead.

42. *Gośṛimga*—the word is not traceable in any of the standard dictionaries. Is it a homonym of *gośīrsha* or sandal wood? In that case *gośṛimgamālā* would mean a rosary of sandal beads.

43. *Ketaka*—Is it the same as Hindi *katak* meaning 'a bracelet' (see Platt)? It is probably derived from Sanskrit *kaṭaka* 'a bracelet of gold'.

44. *Rākhaḍī*—'a kind of ornament worn by women on the forehead' (Platt).

45. *Mathe-kā-phul*—literally 'a flower on the head'. Perhaps an ornament for the coiffure.

46. *Gāṭhali*—probably the same as Marathi *gāṭhale* which means a necklace of gems or coins (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*)

47. *Nath motī wa hīra vālī*—a nose-ring studded with pearls and diamonds. *Motī* is a Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *mauktika.*

48. *Kāp*—a Marathi word meaning an ear-ornament for females.

49. *Motī kā dāṇā vinā voy*—Seed pearls without holes.

50. *Nīḷa*—Marathi derivative from Sanskrit *nīla* and has the same meaning as Hindi *nīlā* 'a sapphire.'

51. *Pushparāga*—topaz, cf. Hindi *pokhraj.*

52. *Sātphulī motī*—literally 'seven-flowered pearl'. Probably a nose-top consisting of a gold bit shaped like a seven-petalled flower and set with a pearl (Molesworth, *Op. cit*).

53. *Bhokrājorī*—read *bhokrājoḍī* probably the same as Mārathi *bhokar* meaning the pendant of an ear-ring (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*)

54. *Chaukaḍā*—a Marathi word meaning an ornament made of four golden rings each having a pendant of pearl (Molesworth, *Op. cit*)

55. *Kaṭorī do tukaḍ*—two fragments of a bowl. The word *kaṭorī* occurs both in Hindi and Marathi. The forms *kaṭorā kaṭora* and *kaṭṭoraka* are found in medieval Sanskrit literature. The word *tukaḍ* is evidently a variation of Marathi *tukaḍa* meaning a fragment, a broken p..rt.

56. *Chamachyā*—'a spoon', derived from Persian *chamchā.* *Cf.* Sanskrit *chamasa* and Marathi *chamachā.*

57. *Pela*—a Marathi word meaning a cup or a bowl, derived from Persian *piyālā.* Cf. modern Hindi and Bengali *piyālā.*

58. *Pohachī*—Platt spells the word as *pahunchi* which means a wrist-ornament, specially a bracelet of gold beads strung together and fastened with a clasp. In Marathi the word is spelt *pohanchi* and means a wrist ornament for males.

59. *Kaḍā*—a Hindi word meaning a bangle.

60. *Toḍā*—In Marathi the word means a ring of gold or silver for the wrist or ankle. In Bengali the word stands for an anklet. Platt derives the word from Sanskrit *troṭaka* (Prakrit *toḍaa*), and explains it as a gold or silver chain for the neck or a similar ornament for the ankles usually consisting of 3 chains.

61. *Vichhayā*—The same as *bichhuā* or *bichhavā* of Platt. It means a ring worn on the great toe. This signification arises, according to Platt, from the shape of the ring resembling that of a scorpion's sting.

62. *Masoḷā*—Evidently the same as Marathi *Māsoḷi* meaning a fish-formed ornament for females (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*).

63. *Bāli jhumkā*—*bālī* in Sanskrit means a kind of earring passing through the centre of the ear. *Jhumkā* in Marathi and Hindi is a bell-shaped pendant of an earring. The compound word would therefore mean a pendant with an earring.

64. *Pille*—a word of unknown derivation.

65. *Phulpāvak*—not traceable in any of the standard dictionaries.

66. *Ghuṃghuru*—(Hindi) an ornament composed of little bells worn on toes by females.

67. *Tukaḍā chāṃdi*—a piece of silver. *Chāṃdi* is probably a derivation of Sanskrit *chaṃdra* meaning gold.

68. *Nagad*—Arabic *naqd*, 'cash'.

DOCUMENT 25

The document consists of two detached sheets of hand-made paper measuring about 4.5" by 5.5" and 4.75" by 8" respectively. None of the sheets bear any watermark, and each possesses a texture altogether different from the other. The writing on each sheet is in a different hand. The ink used on the second sheet is darker and much brighter than that on the first sheet. The text on the first sheet purports to be a quotation from Raghunandana's *Vyavahāra-tattva*, that on the second is a quotation from the *Vīramitrodaya* (*Dāyabhāgaprakaraṇam*, p. 54).

The sheets are preserved in the same collection with an appeal in Persian, dated 1st January 1853, from one Murari, son of Dusant (Dushyanta?) against an order of the court of the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab (see INTRODUCTION, pp. 44-45). The appellant clearly states that he submitted with his appeal a *vyavasthā* in support of his claims and there is little doubt that the texts reproduced are the *vyavasthā* referred to by him. In the appeal the name of the author is given as Ojha Ram Pandit Amar Sankar. As they are in diverse hands it is reasonable to argue that none of them are in the hand of their author, but are mere copies.

From a statement attached to the document it appears that it was received in Calcutta on 17 February 1855. The following observation in Persian occurs at the bottom of the second page of the petition. "Ordered. Not fit for interference by this Department dated 23 March 1855." This bears no signature.

The cover of the document has been preserved. The addres reads "*Ba-huzur faiz-zahur khudawand-nit 'mafaiyaz-aman janab governor-general bahadur kishvar-i-Hind lat sahib bahadur dama-iqbalahu* To his Excellency, the benevolent, the master of boons, the most benign of the times, Janab Governor-General, the brave of the country of Hind, the Lat Sahib Bahadur, may his good fortune endure for ever).

1. *Kalpataru*—Kṛityakalpataru, a legal treatise composed by Lakshmīdhara, a minister of Govindachandra, the Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj (1104-1154 A. D.). The treatise has not yet been published, the most complete manuscript being in the Library of the Maharaṇa of Udaipur.

Ratnākara—Vivādaratnākara of Chaṇḍeśvara, (Bibliotheca Indica series). Chaṇḍeśvara is said to have been a minister of Harisiṃhadeva of Tirhu: who was defeated and routed by Ghiyas-uddin Tughluq in 1324. The Kātyāyana passage quoted occurs on p. 505' of the printed edition. (See also Kane—*Kātyāyana-smṛitisāroddhāra*, p. 107).

2. *Raghunāthanandana Bhaṭṭāchārya*—In the colophons to his works the author of *Vyavahāratattva* usually describes himself as Srī-Vandyaghāṭīya Harihara bhaṭṭāchāryātmaja-Raghunandana-Bhaṭṭāchārya. The addition of the word Nātha to his name may have been due to a confusion between him and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the great exponent of Nyāya philosophy. That many are still labouring under the same confusion will be clear, if one reads the biographical note, given on him in Kāṇe's *History of Dharmasāstra* and Sarvādhikari's *Tagore Law Lectures*. According to Jolly Raghunandana flourished early in the 16th century. Aufrecht places him between 1430 and 1612 A. D.

3. *Yathāha*—The published text of *Vīramitrodaya* reads *tathāha*.

4. *Nānyatra*—These words are omitted from the published text of *Vīramitrodaya*.

5. *Jimūtavāhana*—Reference is to Jimūtavāhana's *Dāyābhaga* (chapter III, Sect. 1, 12-14, Colebrooke, *Two treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritence*, p. 57). The date of Jimūtavāhana has been fixed as c. 1090-1130 A. D.

6. *Vīramitrodaya*—see DOCUMENT 1, note 4.

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INDEX TO THE TEXT

GENERAL INDEX

Numeration in bold indicates the pages of the Introduction

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

K

N

T

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

INTRODUCTION

Page	Line				
1	11	*For*	other paper	*Read*	other papers
5	4	,,	Mr. Thomson	,,	Mr. Thompson
6	27	,,	without any business public or private	,,	without any business, public or private
9	11	,,	seat a Gokula	,,	seat at Gokula
16 f.n.	7	,,	from 1804 to 1839	,,	from 1804 to 1837
18	1	,,	Jemadar Raja Bunse Singh 29	,,	Jemadar Raja Bunse Singh 39
33	3	,,	"aurasa-putra"	,,	"aurasa putra"
,,	31	,,	(*Document* 13)	,,	(*Document* 14)
37 f.n.	15	,,	*Vikrâma-birada-vali*	,,	*Vikrama-biradavali*
39 f.n.	8	,,	brother o a parental uncle	,,	brother or a parental uncle
40 f.n.	5	,,	by hm	,,	by him
48	15	,,	Clacutta	,,	Calcutta
50	1	,,	Chatrasal	,,	Chhatrasal
51	2	,,	*Sragdhara*	,,	Śragdharā
58	1	,,	*aazi*	,,	*arzi*
59	14	,,	John Ryecroft Best	,,	John Rycroft Best
60	12	,,	Apastamha	,,	Āpastamba

TEXT

Page	Line				
1	3	*For*	श्री	*Read*	श्रीः
,,	15	,,	निंवंध	,,	निंबंध
2	3	,,	तुतं	,,	तु तं
,,	5	*after*	पुत्रवत्वा	*insert*	sic

Page	*Line*				
2	10	*for*	निवंधेषु	*read*	निबंधेषु
,,	19	*after*	बहुपुत्रेणे	*insert*	sic
,,	25	,,	ब्राह्मणानां	,,	sic
3	1	*for*	चारसातिरिक्त	*read*	चौरसातिरिक्त
,,	5	,,	नाम्नो गङ्गारामस्य	,,	नाम्नो गङ्गारामस्य
,,	10	,,	ठोबलेा	,,	ढोबलेा
5	1	*after*	विक्रमादव्द	*insert*	sic
,,	3	*for*	पत्र	*read*	पत्रं
,,	5	*after*	ब्रूमः	*insert*	sic
6	2	*for*	मधुरा	*read*	मधुर
11	6-7	*after*	वहुधा	*insert*	sic
,,	10	*for*	पालनार्थं	*read*	पालनार्थं
,,	23	,,	न्युनैता	,,	न्यूनता
12	1	,,	वत्तते	,,	वर्त्तते
17	3	,,	श्रीमन्त	,,	श्रीमंत
,,	18	,,	तस्मादिदानिं	,,	तस्मादिदानीं
,,	,,	,,	कोशल्य	,,	कौशल्य
20	1	,,	निवेशमन	,,	निवेशमम
20	3	,,	षङ्विंश	,,	षड्विंश
,,	6	,,	चतुर	,,	चतुरः
,,	13	,,	सामार्थ्यं	,,	सामर्थ्यं
,,	18	,,	एषेा	,,	एष
,,	24	,,	रंतिदेव	,,	रंतिदेवः
21	9	,,	साक्षाद्धम	,,	साक्षाद्धर्मं
,,	12	,,	मम	,,	म
22	7	,,	सिन्दुरिका	,,	सिन्दूरिका
,,	20	,,	मया लिख्यते	,,	लिख्यते भूय
25	3	,,	पुण्यकीर्त्तिन्	,,	पुण्यकीर्त्तीन्
,,	5	,,	रणभूवि	,,	रणभुवि
,,	6	,,	प्रात	,,	प्रातः
27	1	,,	द्राद्म	,,	द्राद्मः
28	1	,,	विद्यु्द्रणः	,,	विद्यु्द्रर्णः
,,	6	,,	गण्येरपि	,,	गण्यैरपि
30	2	*after*	न्चेतस	*insert*	sic
,,	2	,,	यसबंतस्य	,,	,,

Page	*Line*				
31	5	*for*	तेष्येको	*read*	तेष्वेको
,,	20	,,	दानपत्रसाहत	,,	दानपत्रसहित
32	17	,,	ग्रहन	,,	ग्रहण
,,	21	,,	वचनात	,,	वचनात्
,,	23	*after*	व्रह्मचारिण:	*insert*	sic
,,	25	*for*	पत्न्यभिगामी	*read*	पत्न्यभिगामि
33	8	*after*	वृहस्पति	*insert*	sic
,,	10	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	13	,,	व्रह्मचारि	,,	,,
34	13	*for*	पूर्वजा:	*read*	पूर्वज:
35	13	,,	रिक्थं	,,	रिक्थ
,,	23	,,	शुद्रेषु	,,	शूद्रेषु
,,	28	,,	भवेत	,,	भवेत्
36	19	,,	दृशाद्वत्योः	,,	दृशाद्वत्योः
,,	21	*after*	सुरसेनजा:	*insert*	sic
,,	22	*for*	प्रसुतस्य	*read*	प्रसूतस्य
37	1	*after*	पुनेा	*insert*	sic
,,	2	*for*	प्रत्यृत:	*read*	प्रत्युत:
,,	2	,,	सर्वकालिक	,,	सार्वकालिक
,,	7	,,	संहन	,,	संहनन
,,	9	,,	वुभुजू	,,	वूभुजु
38	1	,,	कंषण	,,	कर्षण
,,	1	,,	कर्थं	,,	कथं
,,	5	*after*	मंस्था	*insert*	sic
,,	6	*for*	महती	*read*	महतीं
,,	12	,,	शूद्र	,,	शूद्री
,,	16	,,	महिं	,,	महीं
40	6	*after*	लभेन्नवेति	*insert*	sic
,,	8	*for*	तदाभावे	*read*	तदभावे
,,	14	,,	दुहित	,,	दुहितृ
41	19	,,	जीवत्याद्ध	,,	जीवत्यर्द्ध
,,	24	,,	कल्यान	,,	कल्याण
43	6	,,	कर्मेणैव	,,	कर्मणैव
,,	6	,,	ततो३स्मा-	,,	ततोऽस्मा–
,,	7	*after*	लेाके	*insert*	sic

Page	Line				
44	1	*for*	श्रीजयति	*read*	श्रीर्जयति
,,	5	,,	मासीप	,,	मासीय
45	3	*after*	मृतेस्य	*insert*	sic
,,	7	*for*	सवत	*read*	सर्वत
,,	18	,,	तावद्राज्ञा	,,	तावद्राजा
46	22	,,	शुद्रैव	,,	शूद्रैव
,,	22	,,	शुद्र्यां	,,	शूद्र्यां
,,	25	,,	कामंती	,,	कामतो
47	18	,,	सम्मति	,,	सम्मतिः
,,	18	,,	प्राड्विवाक	,,	प्राड्विवाक
48	2	,,	ऐकलिंगजी	,,	ऐकलगजी (sic)
,,	3	,,	गुणगणालङ्कृत	,,	गुणगणालङ्कृत
,,	3	*after*	गृहित्वा	*insert*	sic
49	3-4	*for*	सहस्रांशु	*read*	सहस्रांशु
,,	17	,,	धारणीय	,,	धारणीयः
50	3	*after*	पण्डितस्याशी	*insert*	sic
51	9-10	*for*	जनयद्वहु	*read*	जनयद् बहु
,,	12	,,	क्लीवा	,,	क्लीबा
,,	13	,,	क्लीवे	,,	क्लीबे
52	6	*after*	पुत्र	*insert*	sic
53	6	*for*	पाश्चात्यदेशातंगीत	*read*	पाश्चात्यदेशांतर्गत
,,	24	,,	हृत्योरसि	,,	प्रहृत्योरसि
54	7	,,	मोक्तिक	,,	मौक्तिक
,,	20	,,	गतंव्य	,,	गंतव्य
55	9	,,	कथभागत	,,	कथमागतं
59	10	,,	सुनवः	,,	सूनवः
,,	15	,,	मातृणा	,,	मातृणा
55	6	N.B.—The reading in the original manuscript *Dyūtasatka* is probably correct. The word *satka* is frequently found in Medieval Sanskrit texts as being used in the sense of 'belonging to' 'pertaining to' 'addicted to' *cf. Ādhīśvara-satkam, tatsatka* (Bharaṭaka-Dvātriṃśikā, ed. J. Hertel, pp. 29, 32, 55).			

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Page	Line				
63	33	*after*	Nandapaṇḍita	*delete*	full point
67 f.n.	4	*for*	Nicholl	*read*	Nicholls
77	31	,,	Jayanarāyan	,,	Jayanārāyan
105	30-31	,,	of the remaining modes of the wife's status marriage	,,	of the remaining modes of marriage
109	10	,,	John Ryecroft Best	,,	John Rycroft Best
110	7	,,	,,	,,	,,
116	13	,,	Subākṛishṇa and Nārāyaṇa Malla	,,	Subākṛishṇa Nārāyaṇa Malla
121	14	,,	(in the city of Gaya	,,	(in the city of) Gaya
122	22	,,	fromt he town of	,,	from the town of

NOTES

Page	Line				
Document 1.					
128	13	*For*	Bhattoji	*Read*	Bhaṭṭoji
,,	43	,,	*Dehatis*	,,	*Debates*
Document 3.					
132	7-8	,,	Bengali script normal	,,	normal Bengali script.
Document 6.					
184	11	,,	On	,,	in
Document 7.					
134	4	,,	Kauśaladhishṭhātṛishu	,,	Kauśalādhishṭhātṛishu
Document 9.					
136	6	,,	rebal	,,	rebel
,,	11	,,	Orissa	,,	*Orissa*

Page	*Line*				
„	25	*for*	ekadaśaiva	*read*	ekādaśaiva
„	39	„	*brahmadyairapi*	„	brahmādyai-rapi
137	3	*add*	"The script used by the signatories is therefore Bengali and not Maithili as presupposed in the Text, p. 29."		

Document 10.

137	7—8	*for*	"The forwarding letter......Department"
		read	"In the forwarding letter (Pol. Con. 29 Feb. 1808 No. 49) Archibald Seton, Resident at Delhi, expressed the apprehension that the real object of Yasavant Rao in issuing the coin was to deprive the king of Delhi of the sole right of issuing coins which he had so long enjoyed. This apprehension was allayed by Edmonstone in his letter of 29 February in which he rightly pointed out that the term 'paramount sovereign' in the coin legend did not refer to Yasavant but to the King of Delhi and that Seton's fears were based on a mistranslation of the text."

Document 11.

139	2	*for*	*ta(dā)bhāve*	*read*	ta(da)bhāve

Document 12.

140	8	„	Karan Singh	„	Karam Singh
„	11	„	Original	„	Originals
141	34	„	*Paṃchalasurasena-jah*	„	*Pāṃchālāsū-rasenajāh.*
„	34	*add*	The reading should be *pāṃchālāśśūrasenajāḥ.*		
„	42	*for*	*pratīpākāmkshāyām*	*read*	*Pratīpakākām-kshāyām.*

Document 14.

144	44	„	tadābhāve	„	tadabhāve.
145	5-6	„	„	„	„

Page	Line				

Document 15.

145 *note* 4. The full text from which the half-verse has been taken is : Tāta Bāhvaṭa mā rodīh Karmaṇo gatirīdriśī Dushadhātorivāsmākaṃ dosha-sampattaye guṇah. The half-verse should be rendered: "As in the case of the root *dush* (which becomes *dosha* as soon as it is subjected to the *guṇa* operation) my *guṇa* (merit) has resulted only in *dosha* (defect)."

Document 16.

146 *note* 1	*for*	Ryecroft	*read*	Rycroft.

Document 20.

149 *line* 39	,,	Rammganātha	,,	Raṃganātha.
150 *note* 6	,,	*Āśvina*	,,	*Āśvayuja*

Document 21.

151 *line* 13	,,	Nāthādwarā	,,	Nāthadwāra
,, ,, 24	,,	Śrīvikramāśaha	,,	Śrīvikrama-śāha.

Document 24.

155 *line* 44	,,	p. 60 n. 115	,,	p. 60, n. 151.
156 ,, 36	,,	Mohrar	,,	Morhar
157 ,, 17	,,	*parushya*	,,	*pārushya*
,, ,, 20	,,	*ghāṭite*	,,	*ghātite*
,, ,, 22	,,	Jñānendramahan	,,	Jñānendra-mohan

Document 25.

161 *line* 34	,,	Dāyābhaga	,,	Dāyabhāga.